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The LIFE of

Col. JAMES GARDINER,

Who was slain at the BATTLE of PRESTON-PANS
21st September 1745.

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SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

L I F E

OF THE HONOURABLE

Col. JAMES GARDINER,

Who was slain at the BATTLE of PRESTON-PANS 21st *September* 1745.

WITH AN

A P P E N D I X,

RELATING TO THE

ANCIENT FAMILY

OF THE

MUNROES of FOULIS.

BY P. DODDRIDGE, D. D

———*Justior alter*
Nec Pietate fuit, nec Bello major et Armis. Virg.

LONDON:

Printed for J. BUCKLAND, W. STRACHAN, J. and F. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, and T. FIELD.

M.DCC.LXXXV.

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TO

DAVID GARDINER, Esq;

CORNET in Sir JOHN COPE's Regiment of DRAGOONS.

DEAR SIR,

WHile my heart is following you with a truly paternal solicitude through all the dangers of military life in which you are thus early engaged, anxious for your safety amidst the instruments of death, and the far more dangerous allurements of vice, I feel a peculiar pleasure in being able at length, though after such long delays, to put into your hands the *memoirs* with which I now present you. They contain many particulars, which would have been worthy of your attentive notice had they related to a person of the most distant nation or age: But they will, I doubt not, command your peculiar regard, as they are sacred to

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the memory of that excellent man from whom you had the honour to derive your birth, and by whose generous and affectionate care you have been laid under all the obligations which the best of fathers could confer on a most beloved son.

Here, Sir, you see a Gentleman, who, with all the advantages of a liberal and religious education, added to every natural accomplishment that could render him most agreeable, entered, before he had attained the stature of a man, on those arduous and generous services to which you are devoted, and behaved in them with a gallantry, and courage which will always give a splendor to his name among the British soldiery, and render him an example to all officers of his rank. But, alas! amidst all the intrepidity of the *martial Hero*, you see him vanquished by the blandishments of pleasure, and in chace of it plunging himself into follies and vices, for which no want of education or genius could have been a sufficient excuse. You behold him

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urging the ignoble and fatal purſuit, unmoved by the terrors which death was continually darting around him, and the moſt ſignal deliverances by which Providence again and again reſcued him from thoſe terrors, till at length he was reclaimed by an ever-memorable interpoſition of divine grace. Then you have the pleaſure of ſeeing him become, in good earneſt, *a convert to Chriſtianity*, and by ſpeedy advances growing up into one of its brighteſt ornaments; his mind continually filled with the great ideas which the goſpel of our Redeemer ſuggeſts, and bringing the bleſſed influence of its ſublime principles into every relation of military and civil, of public and domeſtic life. You trace him perſevering in a ſteady and uniform courſe of goodneſs thro' a long ſeries of honourable and proſperous years, the delight of all that were ſo happy as to know him, and, in his ſphere, the moſt faithful guardian of his country; till at laſt, worn out with honourable labours, and broken with infirmities which they had haſtened

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upon him before the time, you see him forgetting them at once at the call of duty and providence; with all the generous ardour of his most vigorous days rushing on the enemies of religion and liberty, sustaining their shock with the most deliberate fortitude, when deserted by those that should have supported him, and cheerfully sacrificing the little remains of a mortal life in the triumphant views of a glorious immortality.

This, Sir, is the noble object I present to your view; and you will, I hope, fix your eye continually upon it, and will never allow yourself for one day to forget that this illustrious man is COLONEL GARDINER, your ever-honoured father; who, having approved his *fidelity to the death*, and received *a crown of life*, seems, as it were, by what you here read, to be calling out to you from amidst *the cloud of witnesses* with which you are surrounded, and urging you, by every generous, tender, filial sentiment, to mark the footsteps of his *Christian race*, and stre-

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nobly to maintain *that combat*, where the victory is thro' divine grace certain, and the prize an eternal kingdom in the heavens.

The laſt number of the *Appendix* introduces a moſt worthy *triumvirate* of your father's friends, following him thro' the ſame heroic path to an end like his, and with pleaſure pouring forth their lives in blood for the reſcue and preſervation of their dearer country. And I truſt the eloquence of their examples will be prevalent with many, to emulate the many virtues for which they were conſpicuous.

My hopes, Sir, that all theſe powerful motives will eſpecially have their full efficacy on You, are greatly encouraged by the certainty which I have of your being well acquainted with the evidence of *Chriſtianity* in its full extent; a criminal ignorance of which, in the midſt of great advantages for learning them, leaves ſo many of our young people a prey to *Deiſm*, and ſo to vice and ruin, which generally bring

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up its rear. My life would be a continual burden to me, if I had not a conſciouſneſs in the ſight of GOD, that, during the years in which the important truſt of your education was committed to my care, I had laid before you the proofs both of natural and revealed religion, in what I aſſuredly eſteem to be, with regard to the judgment, if they are carefully examined an irreſiſtable light; and that I had endeavoured to attend them with thoſe addreſſes which might be moſt likely to impreſs your heart. You have not, dear Sir, forgotten, and I am confident you can never entirely forget, the aſſiduity with which I have laboured to form your mind, not only to what might be ornamental to you in human life, but above all to a true taſte of what is really excellent, and an early contempt of thoſe vanities by which the generality of our youth, eſpecially in your ſtation, are debaſed, enervated, and undone: My private as well as public addreſſes for this purpoſe, I know, will be remembered by you, and the tears of tenderneſs with

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which they have so often been accompanied: And may they be so remembered, that they who are most tenderly concerned may be comforted under the loss of such an inestimable friend as COLONEL GARDINER, by seeing that his character, in all its most amiable and resplendent parts, lives in you; and that how difficult soever it may be to act up to that height of expectation with which the eyes of the world will be fixed on the son of such a father, you are, in the strength of divine grace, attempting it, at least are following him with, generous emulation, and with daily solicitude, that the steps may be less unequal?

May the LORD GOD of your father, and, I will add, of both your pious and honourable parents, animate your heart more and more with such views and sentiments as these! May HE guard your life amidst every scene of danger, to be a protection and blessing to those that are yet unborn; and may HE give you, in some far distant pe-

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riod of time, to resign it by a gentler dissolution than the hero from whom you sprung, or, if unerring Wisdom appoint otherwise, to end it with equal glory!

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your ever faithful,

Affectionate Friend, and

Obliged humble Servant,

Northampton,
1st July, 1747.

P. DODDRIDGE.

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SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

LIFE

OF THE HONOURABLE

COL. JAMES GARDINER.

§ 1. WHEN I promiſed the Public ſome larger account of the life and character of this illuſtrious perſon than I could conveniently inſert in my ſermon on the ſad occaſion of his death, I was ſecure, that, if Providence continued my capacity in writing, I ſhould not wholly diſappoint the expectation: For I was furniſhed with a variety of particulars, which appeared to me worthy of general notice, in conſequence

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of that intimate friendſhip with which he had honoured me during the ſix laſt years of his life; a friendſhip which led him to open his heart to me in repeated converſations, with an unbounded confidence, as (he then aſſured me, beyond what he had uſed with any other man living,) ſo far as religious experiences were concerned: And I had alſo received ſeveral very valuable letters from him, during the time of our abſence from each other, which contained moſt genuine and edifying traces of his Chriſtian character. But I hoped farther to learn many valuable particulars from the papers of his own cloſet, and from his letters to other friends, as well as from what they more circumſtantially knew concerning him: I therefore determined to delay the execution of my promiſe, till I could enjoy theſe advantages for performing it in the moſt ſatisfactory manner: nor have I, on the whole, reaſon to regret that determination.

§ 4. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with all the cauſes which concurred to retard theſe expected aſſiſtances for almoſt a whole year: the chief of them were, the tedious languiſhing illneſs of his afflicted Lady, through whoſe hands it was proper the papers ſhould paſs, together with the confuſion into which the Rebels had thrown them when they ranſacked his ſeat at Bankton,

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ton, where moſt of them were depoſited. But having now received ſuch of them as have eſcaped their voracious hands, and could conveniently be collected and tranſmitted, I ſet myſelf with the greateſt pleaſure to perform, what I eſteem, not merely a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my invaluable friend, (though never was the memory of any mortal man more precious and ſacred to me;) but of duty to GOD, and to my fellow-creatures: For I have a moſt cheerful hope, that the narrative I am now to write, will, under the divine bleſſing, be a means of ſpreading, what of all things in the world every benevolent heart will moſt deſire to ſpread, a warm and lively ſenſe of religion.

§ 3. My own heart has been ſo much edified and animated by what I have read in the memoirs of perſons who have been eminent for wiſdom and piety, that I cannot but wiſh the treaſure may be more and more increaſed; and I would hope the world may gather the like valuable fruits from the life I am now attempting; not only as it will contain very ſingular circumſtances, which may excite a general curioſity, but as it comes attended with ſome other particular advantage.

§ 4. The Reader is here to ſurvey a character of ſuch eminent and various good-

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neſs, as might demand veneration, and inſpire him with a deſire to imitate it too, had it appeared in the obſcureſt rank: But it will ſurely command ſome peculiar regard, when viewed in ſo elevated and important a ſtation, eſpecially as it ſhone, not in eccleſiaſtical, but military life, where the temptations are ſo many, and the prevalency of the contrary character ſo great, that it may ſeem no inconſiderable praiſe and felicity to be free from diſſolute vice, and to retain what in moſt other profeſſions might be eſteemed only a mediocrity of virtue. It may ſurely with the higheſt juſtice be expected, that the title and bravery of Colonel Gardiner will invite many of our officers and ſoldiers, to whom his name has been long honourable and dear, to peruſe this account of him with ſome peculiar attention. In conſequence of which, it may be a means of increaſing the number, and brightening the character of thoſe who are already adorning their office, their country, and their religion, and of reclaiming thoſe who will ſee rather what they ought to be than what they are. On the whole, to the gentlemen of the ſword I would particularly offer theſe memoirs, as theirs by ſo diſtinguiſhed a title: Yet I am firmly perſuaded, there are none whoſe office is ſo ſacred, or whoſe proficency in the religious life is ſo advanced, but they may find ſome-

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thing to demand their thankfulneſs, and to awaken their emulation.

§ 5. Colonel James Gardiner, of whom we write, was the ſon of Captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-head, by Mrs Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladſmuir. The Captain, who was maſter of a handſome eſtate, ſerved many years in the army of King William and Queen Anne, and died abroad with the Britiſh forces in Germany, quickly after the battle of Hochſtet, thro' the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot, once commanded by Colonel Hodge, his valiant brother-in-law, who was ſlain at the head of that regiment, (my memorial from Scotland ſays,) at the battle of Steenkirk, which was fought in the year 1692.

§ 6. Mrs Gardiner, our Colonel's mother, was a Lady of a very valuable character; but it pleaſed GOD to exerciſe her with very uncommon trials; for ſhe not only loſt her huſband and her brother in the ſervice of their country, as before related, but alſo her eldeſt ſon, Mr Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the ſixteenth year of his age, at the ſiege of Namur, in 1695. But there is great reaſon to believe GOD bleſſed theſe various and heavy afflictions, as the means of form-

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ing her to that eminent degree of piety, which will render her memory honourable as long as it continues.

§ 7. Her ſecond ſon, the worthy perſon of whom I am now to give a more particular account, was born at Carriden, in Linlithgowſhire, on the 10th of January A. D. 1687-8; the memorable year of that glorious Revolution which he juſtly eſteemed among the happieſt of all events. So that when he was ſlain in the defence of thoſe liberties which GOD then by ſo gracious a providence reſcued from utter deſtruction, *i. e.* on the 21ſt of September 1745, he was aged fifty-ſeven years, eight months, and eleven days.

§ 8. The annual return of his birth-day was obſerved by him in the latter and better years of his life, in a manner very different from what is commonly practiſed: for inſtead of making it a day of feſtivity, I am told he rather diſtinguiſhed it as a ſeaſon of more than ordinary humiliation before GOD; both in commemoration of thoſe mercies which he received in the firſt opening of life, and under an affectionate ſenſe, as well as of his long alienation from the great Author and ſupport of his being, as of the many imperfections which he lamented, in the beſt of his days and ſervices.

§ 9. I have not met with many things remarkable concerning the early years of

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his life, only that his mother took care to inſtruct him with great tenderneſs and affection in the principles of true Chriſtianity. He was alſo trained up in human literature at the ſchool in Linlithgow, where he made a very conſiderable progreſs in the languages. I remember to have heard him quote ſome paſſages of the Latin claſſics very pertinently, though his employment in life, and the various turns which his mind took under different impulſes in ſucceeding years, prevented him from cultivating ſuch ſtudies.

§ 10. The good effects of his mother's prudent and exemplary care were not ſo conſpicuous as ſhe wiſhed and hoped, in the younger part of her ſon's life; yet there is great reaſon to believe they were not entirely loſt. As they were probably the occaſion of many convictions, which in his younger years were overborne, ſo I doubt not, that when religious impreſſions took that ſtrong hold of his heart, which they afterwards did, that ſtock of knowledge, which had been ſo early laid up in his mind, was found of conſiderable ſervice. And I have heard them make the obſervation, as an encouragement to parents and other pious friends, to do their duty, and to hope for thoſe good conſequences of it which may not immediately appear.

§ 11. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt; (of whoſe good inſtructions and

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exhortations I have often heard him ſpeak with pleaſure,) have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life; from which it is no wonder theſe ladies endeavoured to diſſuade him, conſidering the mournful experience they had of the dangers attending it, and the dear relatives they had loſt already by it. But it ſuited his taſte; and the ardour of his ſpirit, animated by the perſuaſions of a friend who greatly urged it*, was not to be reſtrained. Nor will the reader wonder, that, thus excited and ſupported, it eaſily overbore their tender remonſtrances, when he knows that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the ſtature of a man; in one of which, when he was but eight years old, he received, from a boy much older than himſelf, a wound in his right cheek, the ſcar of which was always very apparent. The falſe ſenſe of honour which inſtigated him to it might ſeem indeed ſomething excuſable in thoſe unripened years, and conſidering the profeſſion of his father, brother, and uncle; but I have often heard him mention this raſhneſs with that regret which the reflection would naturally give to ſo wiſe and good a man in the maturity of life. And I have

* I ſuppoſe this to have been Brigadier General Rue, who had from his childhood a peculiar affection for him.

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been informed, that, after his remarkable converſion, he declined accepting a challenge, with this calm and truly great reply, which in a man of his experienced bravery was exceeding graceful, "I fear ſinning, though you "know I do not fear fighting."

§ 12. He ſerved firſt as a Cadet, which muſt have been very early; and then, at fourteen years old, he bore an Enſign's commiſſion in a Scots regiment in the Dutch ſervice; in which he continued till the year 1702, when (if my information be right) he received an Enſign's commiſſion from Queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramilies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this ever-memorable action he received a wound in his mouth by a muſket-ball, which hath often been reported to be the occaſion of his converſion. That report was a miſtaken one; but as ſome very remarkable circumſtances attended this affair, which I have had the pleaſure of hearing more than once from his own mouth, I hope my reader will excuſe me, if I give him ſo uncommon a ſtory at large.

§ 13. Our young officer was of a party in the Forlorn Hope, and was commanded on what ſeemed almoſt a deſperate ſervice, to diſpoſſeſs the French of the church-yard at Ramilies, where a conſiderable number of them were poſted to remarkable advantage. They ſucceeded much better than

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was expected; and it may well be ſuppoſed, that Mr Gardiner, who had before been in ſeveral encounters, and had the view of making his fortune, to animate the natural intrepidity of his ſpirit, was glad of ſuch an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf. Accordingly he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, (probably in that horrid language which is ſo peculiar a diſgrace to our ſoldiery, and ſo abſurdly common in ſuch articles of extreme danger,) he received a ſhot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore-part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left ſide of the vertebrae. Not feeling at firſt the pain of the ſtroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildneſs of his ſurpriſe began to ſuſpect he had ſwallowed it; but, dropping ſoon after, he traced the paſſage of it by his finger, when he could diſcover it no other way; which I mention as one circumſtance among many which occur, to make it probable that the greater part of thoſe who fall in battle by theſe inſtruments of death, feel very little anguiſh from the moſt mortal wounds.

§ 14. This accident happened about five or ſix in the evening, on the 23d day of May, in the year 1706; and the army purſuing its advantages againſt the French,

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without ever regarding the wounded, (which was, it ſeems, the Duke of Marlborough's conſtant method, our young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be ſuppoſed, with a great variety of thoughts. He aſſured me, that when he reflected upon the circumſtances of his wound, that a ball ſhould, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought GOD had preſerved him by miracle, and therefore aſſuredly concluded that he ſhould live, abandoned and deſperate as his ſtate then ſeemed to be. Yet, (which to me appeared aſtoniſhing,) he had little thoughts of humbling himſelf before GOD, and returning to him after the wanderings of a life ſo licentiouſly begun. But expecting to recover, his mind was taken up with contrivances to ſecure his gold, of which he had a pretty deal about him; and he had recourſe to a very odd expedient, which proved ſucceſsful. Expecting to be ſtripped, he firſt took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choaked; and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money, (which I think was about nineteen piſtoles,) and ſhutting his hand, and beſmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this poſition till the blood dried in ſuch a manner, that his hand could not eaſily fall open, though any ſud-

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den ſurpriſe ſhould happen, in which he might loſe the preſence of mind which that concealment otherwiſe would have required.

§ 15. In the morning, the French, who were maſters of that ſpot, though their forces were defeated at ſome diſtance, came to plunder the ſlain; and ſeeing him to appearance almoſt expiring, one of them was juſt applying a ſword to his breaſt, to deſtroy the little remainder of life, when in the critical moment, upon which all the extraordinary events of ſuch a life, as his afterwards proved, were ſuſpended, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interpoſed, taking him by his dreſs for a Frenchman, and ſaid, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young ſoldier heard all that paſſed, though he was not able to ſpeak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a ſign for ſomething to drink. They gave him a ſup of ſome ſpiritous liquor, which happened to be at hand, by which he ſaid he found a more ſenſible refreſhment than he could remember from any thing he had taſted either before or ſince. Then ſignifying to the Friar to lean down his ear to his mouth, he employed the firſt efforts of his feeble breath in telling him, (what, alas! was a contrived falſehood,) that he was nephew to the Governor of Huy, a neutral town in the neighbourhood, and that, if he could take any method of conveying him thither, he did

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not doubt but his uncle would liberally reward him. He had indeed a friend at Huy, (who I think was Governor, and if I mistake not, had been acquainted with the Captain his father,) from whom he expected a kind reception; but the relation was only pretended. On hearing this, they laid him on a sort of hand-barrow, and sent him by a file of musqueteers towards the place; but the men lost their way, and got into a wood towards the evening, in which they were obliged to continue all night. The poor patient's wound being still undressed, it is not to be wondered that by this time it raged violently. The anguish of it engaged him earnestly to beg that they would either kill him outright, or leave him there to die, without the torture of any farther motion: and indeed they were obliged to rest a considerable time on account of their own weariness. Thus he spent the second night in the open air without any thing more than a common bandage to stanch the blood. He hath often mentioned it as a most astonishing providence that he did not bleed to death, which, under GOD, he ascribed to the remarkable coldness of these two nights.

§ 6. Judging it quite unsafe to attempt carrying him to Huy, from whence they were now several miles distant, his convoy took him early in the morning to a Convent in the neighbourhood, where he was hospi-

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tably received, and treated with great kindneſs and tenderneſs. But the cure of his wound was committed to an ignorant barbar-ſurgeon, who lived near the houſe; the beſt ſhift that could then be made, at a time when it may be eaſily ſuppoſed perſons of ability in their profeſſion had their hands full of employment. The tent which this artiſt applied, was almoſt like a pig driven into the wound; and gentlemen of ſkill and experience, when they came to hear of the manner in which he was treated, wondered how he could ſurvive ſuch management. But by the bleſſing of GOD on theſe applications, rough as they were, he recovered in a few months. The Lady Abbeſs, who called him her ſon, treated him with the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he ſaw within theſe walls was conducted with the ſtricteſt decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there; and they would fain have perſuaded him to acknowledge what they thought was ſo miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the Catholic Faith, as they were pleaſed to call it. But they could not ſucceed; for tho' no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the gentleman lightly to change that form of it which he wore (as it were) looſe about him, as well as too much good ſenſe to ſwallow thoſe monſtrous abſurdities

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of popery which immediately presented themselves to him, unacquainted as he was with the niceties of the controversy.

§ 17. When his liberty was regained by an exchange of prisoners, and his health thoroughly established, he was far from rendering unto the Lord according to that wonderful display of divine mercy which he had experienced. I know very little of the particulars of those wild, thoughtless, and wretched years, which lay between the nineteenth and thirtieth of his life; except it be, that he often experienced the divine goodness in renewed instances, particularly in preserving him in several hot military actions, in all which he never received so much as a wound after this, forward as he was in tempting danger; and yet, that all these years were spent in an entire alienation from GOD, and an eager pursuit of animal pleasure, as his supreme good. The series of criminal amours, in which he was almost incessantly engaged during this time, must probably have afforded some remarkable adventures and occurrences; but the memory of them is perished. Nor do I think it unworthy of notice here, that amidst all the intimacy of this friendship, and the many hours of chearful as well as serious converse which we spent together, I never remember to have heard him speak of any of these intrigues, otherwise than in the general, with deep and so-

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lemn abhorrence. This I the rather mention, as it seemed a most genuine proof of his unfeigned repentance, which I think there is great reason to suspect, when people seem to take a pleasure in relating and describing scenes of vicious indulgence, which yet they profess to have disapproved and forsaken.

§ 18. Amidst all these pernicious wanderings from the path of religion, virtue, and happiness, he approved himself so well in his military character, that he was made a Lieutenant in that year, *viz.* 1706; and am told he was very quickly after promoted to a Cornet's commission in Lord Stair's regiment of Scots Greys; and on the 31st of January, in the years 1714-15, was made Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. He had the honour of being known to the Earl of Stair some time before, and was made his Aid de Camp; and when, upon his Lordship's being appointed Ambassador from his late Majesty to the court of France, he made so splendid an entrance into Paris, Captain Gardiner was his Master of the Horse; and I have been told, that a great deal of the care of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his Lordship's favour, (which to the last day of his life he

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retained,) a Captain's commiſſion was procured for him, (dated July the 22d, 1715,) in the regiment of dragoons commanded by Colonel Stanhope, (now Earl of Harrington;) and, in the year 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment, in which office he continued till he was reduced on November the 10th 1718, when he was put out of commiſſion. But then his Majeſty King George I. was ſo thoroughly appriſed of his faithful and important ſervices, that he gave him his ſign-manual, entitling him to the firſt majority that ſhould become vacant in any regiment of horſe or dragoons, which happened about five years after, to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commiſſion, dated June the 1ſt, 1724; and on the 20th of July the ſame year he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

§ 19. As I am now ſpeaking of ſo many of his military preferments, I will diſpatch the account of them, by obſerving, that on the 24th of January 1729-30 he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the ſame regiment; long under the command of Lord Cadogan, with whoſe friendſhip this brave and vigilant officer was alſo honoured for many years. And he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April 1743, when he received a Colonel's comiſſion over a regiment of dragoons, lately

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commanded by Brigandier Bland; at the head of which he valiantly fell in the defence of his Sovereign and his country, about two years and a half after he received it.

§ 20. We will now return to that period of his life which paſſed at Paris, the ſcene of ſuch remarkable and important events. He continued, (if I remember right,) ſeveral years under the roof of the brave and generous Earl of Stair, to whom he endeavoured to approve himſelf by every inſtance of diligent and faithful ſervice. And his Lordſhip gave no inconſiderable proof of the dependence which he had upon him, when, in the beginning of the year 1715, he entruſted him with the important diſpatches, relating to a diſcovery, which, by a ſeries of admirable policy, he had made, of a deſign whicht he French King was then forming for invading Great Britain in favour of the Pretender, in which the French apprehended they were ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that it ſeemed a point of friendſhip in one of the chief counſellors of that court, to diſſuade a dependant of his from accepting ſome employment under his Britannic Majeſty, when propoſed by his envoy there; becauſe it was ſaid, that in leſs than ſix weeks there would be a revolution in favour of what they called the family of the Stuarts. The Captain diſpatched his journey with the utmoſt ſpeed; a variety of circumſtances happily concur-

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red to accelerate it; and they who remember how soon all the regiments which that emergency required were raised and armed, will, I doubt not, esteem it a memorable instance, both of the utmost cordial zeal in the friends of the government, and of the gracious care of Divine Providence, over the house of Hanover and the British liberties, so incomparibly connected with its interest.

§ 21. While Captain Gardiner was at London, in one of the journies he made upon this occasion, he, with that frankness which was natural to him, and which in those days was not always under the most prudent restraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad state of the French King's health, that he would not live six weeks. This was made known by some spies who were at St James's, and came to be reported at the court of Versailles; for he received letters from some friends at Paris, advising him not to return thither, unless he could reconcile himself to a lodging in the Bastile. But he was soon free from that apprehension; for, if I mistake not, before half that time was accomplished, Lewis XIV. died *; and, it is generally thought, his death was hastened by a very accidental circumstance, which had some reference to

* Sept 1. 1715.

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the Captain's propheſy. For the laſt time he ever dined in public, which was a very little while after the report of it was made there, he happened to diſcover our Britiſh Envoy among the ſpectators. The penetration of this illuſtrious perſon was too great, and his attatchment to the intereſt of his royal maſter too well known, not to render him very diſagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical Prince, whom God had ſo long ſuffered to be the diſgrace of monarchy, and the ſcourge of Europe. He at firſt appeared very languid, as indeed he was; but on caſting his eye upon the Earl of Stair, he affected to appear before him in a much better ſtate of health then he really was, and therefore, as if he had been awakened on a ſudden from ſome deep reverie, immediately put himſelf in an erect poſture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means adviſable, repeating it two or three times to a nobleman (I think the Duke of Bourbon, then inwaiting,) "Methinks I eat "very well, for a man who is to die ſo ſoon*." But this inroad upon that regularity of living, which he had for ſome time obſerved, agreed ſo ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in leſs than a

* *Il me ſemble, qui je ne mange pas mal pour un homme qui devoit murir ſi tot.*

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fortnight. This gave occasion for some humurous people to say, that old Lewis, after all, was killed by a Britain. But if this story be true, (which I think there can be no room to doubt, as the Colonel, from whom I have often heard it, though absent, could scarce be misinformed,) it might more properly be said that he fell by his own vanity: in which view I thought it so remarkable, as not to be unworthy a place in these memoirs.

§ 22. The Captain quickly returned, and continued with small interruptions at Paris, at least till the year 1720, and how much longer I do not certainly know. The Earl's favour and generosity made him easy in his affairs, though he was (as has been observed above,) part of the time out of commission, by breaking the regiment to which he belonged, of which before he was Major. This was, in all probability, the gayest part of his life, and the most criminal. Whatever wise and good examples he might find in the family where he had the honour to reside, it is certain that the French court, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, was one of the most dissolute under heaven. What, by a wretched abuse of language, have been called intrigues of love and gallantry, were so entirely to the Major's then degenerate taste, that if not the whole business, at least the

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whole happineſs, of his life, conſiſted in them; and he had now too much leiſure for one who was ſo prone to abuſe it. His fine conſtitution, than which perhaps there was hardly ever a better, gave him great opportunities of indulging himſelf in theſe exceſſes; and his good ſpirits enabled him to purſue his pleaſures of every kind, in ſo alert and ſprightly a manner, that multitudes envied him, and called him, by a dreadful kind of compliment, The happy rake.

§ 23. Yet ſtill the checks of conſcience, and ſome remaining principles of ſo good an education, would break in upon his moſt licentious hours; and I particularly remember he told me, that when ſome of his diſſolute companions were once congratulating him on his diſtinguiſhed felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and ſaying to himſelf, "Oh that I were "that dog!" Such was then his happineſs, and ſuch perhaps is that of hundreds more, who bear themſelves higheſt in the contempt of religion, and glory in that infamous ſervitude which they affect to call liberty. But theſe remonſtrances of reaſon and conſcience were in vain; and, in ſhort, he carried things ſo far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well aſſured ſome ſober

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Engliſh gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable ſoever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than ſought his company, as fearing they might have been inſnared and corrupted by it.

§ 24. Yet I cannot find that in theſe moſt abandoned days he was fond of drinking. Indeed, he had never any natural reliſh for that kind of intemperance, from which he uſed to think a manly pride might be ſufficient to preſerve perſons of ſenſe and ſpirit; as by it they give up every thing that diſtinguiſhes them from the meaneſt of their ſpecies, or indeed from animals the moſt below it. So that if ever he fell into any exceſſes of this kind, it was merely out of complaiſance to his company, and that he might not appear ſtiff and ſingular. His frank, obliging, and generous temper, procured him many friends; and theſe principles, which rendered him amiable to others, not being under the direction of true wiſdom and piety, ſometimes made him, in the ways of living he purſued, more uneaſy to himſelf than he might perhaps have been if he could entirely have outgrown them; eſpecially as he never was a ſceptic in his principles, but ſtill retained a ſecret apprehenſion, that natural and revealed religion, though he did not much care to think of

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either, were founded in truth. And with this conviction, his notorious violations of the moſt eſſential precepts of both, could not but occaſion ſome ſecret miſgivings of heart. His continual neglect of the great Author of his being, of whoſe perfections he could not doubt, and to whom he knew himſelf to be under daily and perpetual obligations, gave him, in ſome moments of involuntary reflection, inexpreſſible remorſe, and this at times wrought upon him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved he would attempt to pay him ſome acknowledgments. Accordingly for a few mornings he did it; repeating in retirement ſome paſſages out of the Pſalms, and perhaps other ſcriptures, which he ſtill retained in his memory; and owning, in a few ſtrong words, the many mercies and deliverances he had received, and the ill returns he had made for them.

§ 25. I find, among the other papers tranſmitted to me, the following verſes, which I have heard him repeat, as what had impreſſed him a good deal in his unconverted ſtate: And as I ſuppoſe they did ſomething towards ſetting him on this effort towards devotion, and might probably furniſh out a part of theſe oriſons, I hope I need make no apology to my Reader for inſerting them, eſpecially as I do not recollect that I have ſeen them any where elſe.

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Attend, my ſoul! The early birds inſpire
My grovl'ing thought with pure celeſtial fire;
They from their temp'rate ſleep awake, and pay
Their thankful anthems for the new-born day.
See how the tuneful Lark is mounted high,
And, poet like, ſalutes the Eaſtern ſky!
He warbles thro' the fragrant air his lays,
And ſeems the beauties of the Morn to praiſe.
But man, more void of gratitude, awakes,
And gives no thanks for the ſweet reſt he takes;
Looks on the glorious ſun's new-kindled flame,
Without one thought of Him from whom it came.
The wretch unhallow'd does the day begin;
Shakes off his ſleep, but ſhakes not off his ſin.

§ 26. But theſe ſtrains were too devout to continue long in a heart as yet quite unſanctified: For how readily ſoever he could repeat ſuch acknowledgments of the divine power, preſence, and goodneſs, and own his own follies and faults; he was ſtopt ſhort by the remonſtrances of his conſcience as to the flagrant abſurdity of confeſſing ſins he did not deſire to forſake, and of pretending to praiſe GOD for his mercies, when he did not endeavour to live to his ſervice, and to behave in ſuch manner as gratitude, if ſincere, would dictate. A model of devotion, ſuch ſentiments made no part, his ſenſe could not digeſt; and the uſe

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of ſuch language before an heart-ſearching GOD, merely as an hypocritical form, while the ſentiments of his ſoul were contrary to it, juſtly appeared to him ſuch daring profaneneſs, that irregular as the ſtate of his mind was, the thought of it ſtruck him with horror. He therefore determined to make no more attempts of this ſort; and was perhaps one of the firſt that deliberately laid aſide prayer, from ſome ſenſe of GOD's omniſcience, and ſome natural principle of honour and conſcience.

§ 27. Theſe ſecret debates with himſelf, and ineffectual efforts, would ſometimes return: But they were over-born again and again, by the force of temptation; and it is no wonder, that, in conſequence of them, his heart grew yet harder. Nor was it ſoftened, or awakened, by ſome very memorable deliverances which at this time he received.——He was in extreme danger by a fall from his horſe, as he was riding poſt, (I think in the ſtreets of Calais,) when going down a hill, the horſe threw him over his head, and pitched over him; ſo that, when he roſe, the beaſt lay beyond him, and almoſt dead. Yet though he received not the leaſt harm, it made no ſerious impreſſion on his mind. ——In his return from England in the packet-boat, (if I remember right but a

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few weeks after the former accident,) a violent ſtorm that drove them up to Harwich toſſed them from thence for ſeveral hours in a dark night on the coaſt of Holland, and brought them into ſuch extremity, that the captain of the veſſel urged him to go to prayers immediately, if he ever intended to do it at all; for he concluded they would in a few minutes be at the bottom of the ſea. In this circumſtance he did pray, and that very fervently too: And it was very remarkable, that while he was crying to GOD for deliverance, the wind fell, and quickly after they arrived at Calais. But the Major was ſo little affected with what had befallen him, that when ſome of his gay friends, on hearing the ſtory, rallied him upon the efficacy of his prayers, he excuſed himſelf from the ſcandal of being thought much in earneſt, by ſaying, "that it was at midnight, "an hour when his good mother and aunt "were aſleep, or elſe he ſhould have left "that part of the buſineſs to them." A ſpeech which I ſhould not have mentioned, but as it ſhews in ſo lively a view the wretched ſituation of his mind at that time, though his great deliverance from the
wer of darkneſs was then nearly ap-
aching. He recounted theſe things to
with the greateſt humility, as ſhewing
w utterly unworthy he was of that mi-

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racle of divine grace, by which he was quickly after brought to ſo true and ſo prevalent a ſenſe of religion.

§ 28. And now I am come to that aſtoniſhing part of his ſtory, the account of his converſion; which I cannot enter upon without aſſuring the Reader, that I have ſometimes been tempted to ſuppreſs many circumſtances of it, not only as they may ſeem incredible to ſome, and enthuſiaſtical to others, but as I am very ſenſible they are liable to great abuſes; which was the reaſon that he gave me for concealing the moſt extraordinary from many perſons to whom he mentioned ſome of the reſt. And I believe it was this, together with the deſire of avoiding every thing that might look like oſtentation on this head, that prevented his leaving a written account of it; though I have often intreated him to do it: As I particularly remember I did, in the very laſt letter I ever wrote him; and pleaded the poſſibility of his falling amidſt thoſe dangers to which I knew his valour might in ſuch circumſtances naturally expoſe him. I was not ſo happy as to receive any anſwer to this letter, which reached him but a few days before his death: Nor can I certainly ſay, whether he had or had not complied with my requeſt; as it is very poſſible a paper of that kind, if it were written, might be loſt

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amidſt the ravages which the rebels made when they plundered Bankton.

§ 29. The ſtory, however, was ſo remarkable, that I had little reaſon to apprehend I ſhould ever forget it; and yet, to guard againſt all contingencies of that kind, I wrote it down that very evening, as I had heard it from his own mouth: And I have now before me the memoirs of that converſation, dated Aug. 14th 1739, which conclude with theſe words, (which I added, that if we ſhould both have died that night, the world might not have loſt this edifying and affecting hiſtory, or have wanted any atteſtation of it I was capable of giving:) "*N. B.* I have written down "this account with all the exactneſs I am "capable of, and could ſafely take an oath "of it as to the truth of every circumſtance, to the beſt of my remembrance, "as the Colonel related it to me a few "hours ago." I do not know that I had reviewed this paper ſince I wrote it, till I ſet myſelf thus publicly to record this extraordinary fact; but I find it punctually to agree with what I have often related from my memory, which I charged carefully [illegible] ſo wonderful and important a fact. [illegible] with all ſolemnity that I now deliver [illegible] own to poſterity as in the ſight and preſence of GOD, and I chuſe deliberately to

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expoſe myſelf to thoſe ſevere cenſures, which the haughty, but empty ſcorn of infidelity, or principles nearly approaching it, and effectually doing its pernicious work, may very probably dictate upon the occaſion; rather than to ſmother a relation, which may, in the judgment of my conſcience, be like to conduce ſo much to the glory of GOD, the honour of the goſpel, and the good of mankind. One thing more I will only premiſe, that I hope none who have heard the Colonel himſelf ſpeak ſomething of this wonderful ſcene, will be ſurprized if they find ſome new circumſtances here, becauſe he aſſured me, at the time he firſt gave me the whole narration, (which was in the very room in which I now write,) that he had never imparted it fully to any man living before. Yet at the ſame time he gave me full liberty to communicate it to whomſoever I ſhould in my conſcience judge it might be uſeful to do it, whether before or after his death. Accordingly I did, while he was alive, recount almoſt every circumſtance I am now going to write to ſeveral pious friends; referring them at the ſame time to the Colonel himſelf whenever they might have an opportunity of ſeeing or writing to him, for a farther confirmation of what I told them, if they judged it requiſite. They glorified GOD in him; and I humbly hope

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many of my readers will also do it. They will soon perceive the reason of so much caution in my introduction to this story, for which therefore I shall make no further apology *.

§ 30. This memorable event happened towards the middle of July 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The Major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the sabbath,) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom

* It is no small satisfaction to me, since I wrote this, to have received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Spears, minister of the gospel at Burntisland, dated Jan. 14th 1746-7, in which he relates to me this whole story, as he had it from the Colonel's own mouth about four years after he gave me the narration. There is not a single circumstance in which either of our narrations disagree; and every one of the particulars in mine, which seem most astonishing, are attested by this, and sometimes in stronger words; one only excepted, on which I shall add a short remark when I come to it. As this letter was written near Lady Francis Gardiner, at her desire, and attended with a postscript from her own hand, this is, in effect, a sufficient attestation how agreeable it was to those accounts which she must have often heard the Colonel give of this matter.

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he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with ſome amuſing book, or ſome other way. But it very accidentally happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, ſlipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, "The Chriſtian Soldier, or Heaven taken by ſtorm; and was written by Mr Thomas Watſon. Gueſſing by the title of it that he ſhould find ſome phraſes of his own profeſſion ſpiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him ſome diverſion, he reſolved to dip into it; but he took no ſerious notice of any thing he read in it; and yet while this book was in his hand, an impreſſion was made upon his mind, (perhaps GOD only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the moſt important and happy conſequences.

§ 31. There is indeed a poſſibility, that while he was ſitting in this attitude, and reading in this careleſs and profane manner, he might ſuddenly fall aſleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he ſaw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, he judged

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himſelf to have been as broad awake, during the whole time, as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me ſeveral times afterwards, as what undoubtedly paſſed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes †.

§ 32. He thought he ſaw an unuſual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at firſt imagined might happen by ſome accident in the candle. But liſting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were ſuſpended in the air, a viſible repreſentation of the Lord JESUS CHRIST upon the croſs,

† Mr Spears, in the letter mentioned above, where he introduces the Colonel telling his own ſtory, has theſe words: "All of a ſudden there "was preſented, in a very lively manner, to my "view, or to my mind, a repreſentation of my "glorious Redeemer, &c."—And this gentleman adds, in a parenthſis, "It was ſo lively "and ſtriking, that he could not tell, whether "it was to his bodily eyes, or to thoſe of his "mind." This makes me think, that what I have ſaid to him on the phænomena of viſions, apparitions, &c. (as being, when moſt real, ſupernatural impreſſions on the imaginations, rather than attended with any external object) had ſome influence upon him. Yet ſtill it is evident he looked upon this as a viſion, whether it were before the eyes or in the mind, and not as a dream.

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ſurrounded on all ſides with a glory; and was impreſſed, as if a voice, or ſomething equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words,) "Oh, ſinner, did I ſuf-"fer this for thee, and are theſe the re-"turns!" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a ſtrong impreſſion on his mind equally ſtriking, he did not ſeem very confident; though, to the beſt of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with ſo amazing a Phænomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, ſo that he ſunk down in the arm-chair in which he ſat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, inſenſible; (which was one circumſtance, that made me ſeveral times take the liberty to ſuggeſt, that he might poſſibly be all this while aſleep:) But however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and ſaw nothing more than uſual.

§. 33. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, he was in no condition to make any obſervation upon the time in which he had remained in an inſenſible ſtate. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and deteſtable aſſignation, which had before engroſſed all his thoughts. He roſe in a tumult of paſſions, not to be conceived; and walked to and

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fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable aſtoniſhment and agony of heart; appearing to himſelf the vileſt monſter in the creation of GOD, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Chriſt afreſh by his ſins, and now ſaw, as he aſſuredly believed, by a miraculous viſion, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected ſuch a view, both of the majeſty and goodneſs of GOD, as cauſed him to loathe and abhor himſelf, and to repent as in duſt and aſhes. He immediately gave judgment againſt himſelf, that he was moſt juſtly worthy of eternal damnation: He was aſtoniſhed that he had not been immediately ſtruck dead in the midſt of his wickedneſs: And (which I think deſerves particular remark,) though he aſſuredly believed that he ſhould ere long be in hell, and ſettled it as a point with himſelf for ſeveral months, that the wiſdom and juſtice of GOD, did almoſt neceſſarily require, that ſuch an enormous ſinner ſhould be made an example of everlaſting vengeance, and a ſpectacle as ſuch both to angels and men, ſo that he hardly durſt preſume to pray for pardon; yet what he then ſuffered was not ſo much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would ſoon be his portion, as from a ſenſe of that horrible ingratitude he had ſhewn to the GOD of his life, and to that bleſſed

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Redeemer, who had been in ſo affecting a manner ſet forth as crucified before him.

§ 34. To this he refers in a letter, dated from Douglas, April 1ſt 1725, communicated to me by his Lady *, but I know not to whom it was addreſſed. His words are theſe: "One thing relating to my "converſion, and a remarkable inſtance of "the goodneſs of GOD to me, the chief "of ſinners, I do not remember that I "ever told to any other perſon. It was

* *N. B.* Where I make any extracts as from Colonel Gardiner's letters, they are either from originals, which I have in my own hand, or from copies, which were tranſmitted to me from perſons of undoubted credit, chiefly by the Right Honourable the Lady Francis Gardiner, through the hand of the Rev Mr Webſter, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh. This I the rather mention, becauſe ſome letters have been brought to me as Colonel Gardiner's, concerning which I have not only been very dubious, but morally certain that they could not have been written by him. I have alſo heard of many who have been fond of aſſuring the world that they were well acquainted with him, and were near him when he fell, whoſe reports have been moſt inconſiſtent with each other, as well as contrary to that teſtimony relating to the circumſtances of his death, which on the whole appeared to me beyond controverſy the moſt natural and authentic: From whence therefore I ſhall take my account of that affecting ſcene.

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" this; that after the aſtoniſhing ſight I " had of my bleſſed Lord, the terrible con- " dition in which I was, proceeded not " ſo much from the terrors of the law, as " from a ſenſe of having been ſo ungrate- " ful a monſter to Him, whom I thought " I ſaw pierced for my tranſgreſſions." I the rather inſert theſe words, as they evi- dently atteſt the circumſtance which may ſeem moſt amazing in this affair, and contain ſo expreſs a declaration of his own appre- henſion concerning it.

§ 35. In this view it may naturally be ſuppoſed that he paſſed the remainder of the night waking; and he could get but little reſt in ſeveral that followed. His mind was continually taken up in reflecting on the divine purity and goodneſs; the grace which had been propoſed to him in the goſpel, and which he had rejected: the ſingular advantages he had enjoyed and a- buſed; and the many favours of provi- dence which he had received, particularly in reſcuing him from ſo many imminent dangers of death, which he now ſaw muſt have been attended with ſuch dreadful and hopeleſs deſtruction. The privileges of his education, which he had ſo much de- ſpiſed, now lay with an almoſt inſupport- able weight on his mind: and the folly of that career of ſinful pleaſure, which he had

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ſo many years been running with deſperate eagerneſs and unworthy delight, now filled with an indignation againſt himſelf, and againſt the great deceiver by whom (to uſe his own phraſe,) he had been "ſo wretchedly and ſcandalouſly befooled." This he uſed often to expreſs in the ſtrongeſt terms; which I ſhall not repeat ſo particularly, as I can recollect ſome of them. But on the whole, it is certain that by what paſſed before he left his chamber the next day, the whole frame and diſpoſition of his ſoul was new-modelled and changed; ſo that he became and continued to the laſt day of his exemplary and truly Chriſtian life, the very reverſe of what he had been before. A variety of particulars, which I am afterwards to mention, will illuſtrate this in the moſt convincing manner. But I cannot proceed to them without pauſing a while to adore ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of the power and freedom of divine grace, and entreating my Reader likewiſe ſeriouſly to reflect upon it, that his own heart may be ſuitably affected: For, ſurely, if the truth of the fact be admitted in the loweſt views in which it can be placed, (that is, ſuppoſing the firſt impreſſion to have paſſed in a dream, (it muſt be allowed to have been little, if any thing leſs than miraculous. It cannot in the courſe of nature be imagined how ſuch a dream

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ſhould ariſe in a mind full of the moſt impure ideas and affections, and (as he himſelf often pleaded,) more alienated from the thoughts of a crucified Saviour than from any other object that can be conceived: Nor can we ſurely ſuppoſe it ſhould, without a mighty energy of the divine power, be effectual to produce not only ſome tranſient flow of paſſion, but ſo entire and ſo permanent a change in character and conduct.

§ 36. On the whole therefore I muſt beg leave to expreſs my own ſentiments of the matter, by repeating on this occaſion what I wrote ſeveral years ago in my eighth Sermon on Regeneration, in a paſſage dictated chiefly by the circumſtantial knowledge which I had of this amazing ſtory, and methinks ſufficiently vindicated by it, if it ſtood entirely alone; which yet, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, it does not: For I hope the world will be particularly informed that there is at leaſt a ſecond that very nearly approaches it, whenever the eſtabliſhed church of England ſhall loſe one of its brighteſt living ornaments, and one of the moſt uſeful members, which that, or perhaps any other Chriſtian communion

boaſt: In the mean time, may his exemplary life be long continued, and his zealous miniſtry abundantly proſpered! I beg Reader's pardon for this digreſſion.

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The passage I referred to is remarkably, though not equally applicable to both the cases, as it stands in page 263 of the first edition, and page 160 of the second; under that head where I am shewing, that GOD sometimes accomplishes the great work of which we speak by secret and immediate impressions on the mind. After preceding illustrations, there are the following words, on which the Colonel's conversion will throw the justest light: "Yea, "I have known those of distinguished ge- "nius, polite manners, and great experi- "ence in human affairs, who, after having "outgrown all the impressions of a reli- "gious education, after having been har- "dened rather than subdued by the most "singular mercies, even various, repeat- "ed, and astonishing deliverances, which "have appeared to themselves no less than "miraculous, after having lived for years "without GOD in the world, notoriously "corrupt themselves, and labouring to the "utmost to corrupt others, have been stopt "on a sudden in the full career of their "sin, and have felt such rays of the divine "presence and of redeeming love darting "in upon their minds, almost like light- "ning from heaven, as have at once rou- "sed, overpowered, and transformed them: "So that they have come out of their se- "cret chambers with an irreconcileable en-

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"nity to those vices to which, when they "entered them, they were the tamest and "most abandoned slaves, and have appear-"ed from that very hour the votaries, the "patrons, the champions of religion; and "after a course of the most resolute at-"tachment to it, in spite of all the reason-"ings or the railleries, the importunities or "the reproaches, of its enemies, they have "continued to this day some of its bright-"est ornaments: A change which I be-"hold with equal wonder and delight, "and which, if a nation should join in de-"riding it, I would adore as the finger of "GOD."

§ 37. The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkble time till towards the end of October, (that is rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imgine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope toward the end of it, took it for granted that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while GOD

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continued him out of hell, in as rational and as uſeful a manner as he could; and to continue caſting himſelf at the feet of divine mercy every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could ſay was, that he did not abſolutely deſpair. He had at that time ſuch a ſenſe of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durſt form any determinate reſolution againſt ſin, or pretend to engage himſelf by any vow in the preſence of GOD; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himſelf a moſt ſurpriſing alteration with regard to the diſpoſitions of his heart; ſo that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely deſired opportunities of being engaged in them; and thoſe licentious pleaſures, which had before been his heaven, were now abſolutely his averſion. And indeed when I conſider how habitual all thoſe criminal indulgencies were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed to reflect upon it, that he ſhould be ſo wonderfully ſanctified in body as well as in ſoul and ſpirit, as that, for all the future years of life, he, from that hour, ſhould find conſtant a diſinclination to, and abhorrenc

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of, thoſe criminal ſenſualities, to which he fancied he was before to invincibly impelled by his very conſtitution, that he was uſed ſtrangely to think and to ſay that Omnipotence itſelf could not reform him, without deſtroying that body, and giving him another *.

* Mr Spears expreſſes this wonderful circumſtance in theſe remarkable words: "I was (ſaid "the Colonel to me,) effectually cured of all inclination to that ſin I was ſo ſtrongly addicted, that "I thought nothing but ſhooting me through the "head could have cured me of it; and all deſire "and inclination to it was removed as entirely as if "I had been a ſucking child; nor did the temptation return to this day." Mr Webſter's words on the ſame ſubject are theſe: "One thing I have "heard the Colonel frequently ſay, that he was "ſo much addicted to impurity before his acquaintance with religion; but that, ſo ſoon as he was "enlightened from above, he felt the power of the "Holy Ghoſt changing his nature ſo wonderfully, that his ſanctification in this reſpect ſeemed "more remarkable than in any other." On which that worthy perſon makes this very reaſonable reflection: "So thorough a change of ſuch a polluted nature, evidenced by the moſt unblemiſhed "walk and converſation for a long courſe of "years, demonſtrates indeed the power of the "Higheſt, and leaves no room to doubt of its reality." Mr Spears ſays this happened in three days time: But from what I can recollect, all that the Colonel could mean by that expreſſion, if he uſed it, (as I concluded he did,) was, that he began to make the obſervation in the ſpace of three days; whereas, during that time, his thoughts were

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§ 38. Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption, which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breaſt ſo contrary a diſpoſition, that he was grieved to ſee human nature, in thoſe to whom he was moſt entirely a ſtranger, proſtituted to ſuch low and contemptible purſuits. He therefore exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion in all its principles, ſo far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to ſobriety, righteouſneſs, and godlineſs. Yet he was very deſirous and cautious, that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his firſt petitions to GOD the very day after theſe amazing impreſſions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be ſuffered to behave with ſuch an affected ſtrictneſs and preciſeneſs as would lead others about him into miſtaken notions of religion, and expoſe it to reproach or ſuſpicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this

were ſo taken up with the wonderful views preſented to his mind, that he did not immediately attend to it. If he had within the firſt three days any temptation to ſeek ſome eaſe from the anguiſh of his mind, in returning to former ſenſualities, it is a circumſtance he did not mention to me; and by what I can recollect of the ſtrain of his diſcourſe, he intimated, if he did not expreſs the contrary.

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reason he endeavoured to appear as chearful in converſation as he conſcientiouſly could; tho', in ſpite of all his precautions, ſome traces of that deep inward ſenſe which he had of his guilt and miſery would at times appear. He made no ſecret of it however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumſtances attending that change. He told his moſt intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the courſe of life in which he had ſo long joined them, and found it to be folly and madneſs, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy perſons calling themſelves Chriſtians. And he ſet up his ſtandard, upon all occaſions, againſt principles of infidelity, and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he diſplayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with ſo much honour in the field.

§ 39. I cannot forbear mentioning one ſtruggle of this kind, which he deſcribed to me, with a large detail of circumſtances, the firſt day of our acquaintance. There was at that time in Paris a certain Lady, (whoſe name, then well known in the grand and the gay world, I muſt beg leave to conceal,) who had imbibed the principles of Deiſm, and valued herſelf much upon being an avowed advocate for them. The

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Major, with his uſual frankneſs, (though I doubt not with that politeneſs of manners which was ſo habitual to him, and which he retained throughout his whole life,) anſwered her like a man who perfectly ſaw through the fallacy of her arguments, and was grieved to the heart for her deluſion. On this ſhe briſkly challenged him to debate the matter at large, and to fix upon a day for that purpoſe, when he ſhould dine with her, attended with any Clergyman he might chuſe, whether of the Proteſtant or Catholic communion. A ſenſe of duty would not allow him to decline this challenge; and yet he had no ſooner accepted it, but he was thrown into great perplexity and diſtreſs, leſt being (as I remember he expreſſed it when he told me the ſtory,) only a Chriſtian of ſix weeks old, he ſhould prejudiſe ſo good a cauſe by his unſkilful manner of defending it. However, he ſought his refuge in earneſt and repeated prayers to GOD, that he who can ordain ſtrength and perfect praiſe out of the mouth of babes and ſucklings, would graciouſly enable him on this occaſion to vindicate his truths in a manner which might carry conviction along with it. He then endeavoured to marſhal the arguments in his own mind as well as he could; and apprehending that he could not ſpeak with ſo much freedom before a number of

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perſons, eſpecially before ſuch whoſe province he might in that caſe ſeem to invade, if he had not devolved the principal part of the diſcourſe upon them, he eaſily admitted the apology of a clergyman or two, to whom he mentioned the affair, and waited on the Lady alone upon the day appointed. But his heart was ſo ſet upon the buſineſs, that he came earlier than he was expected, and time enough to have two hours diſcourſe before dinner; nor did he at all decline having two young perſons, nearly related to the Lady, preſent during the conference.

§ 40. The Major opened it with a view of ſuch arguments for the Chriſtian religion as he had digeſted in his own mind, to prove that the apoſtles were not miſtaken themſelves, and that they could not have intended to impoſe upon us in the accounts they give of the grand facts they atteſt; with the truth of which facts, that of the Chriſtian religion is moſt apparently connected. And it was a great encouragement to him to find, that unaccuſtomed as he was to diſcourſes of this nature, he had an unuſual command both of thought and expreſſion; ſo that, he recollected and uttered every thing as he could have wiſhed. The Lady heard with attention and though he pauſed between every branch of

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the arguments, ſhe did not interrupt the courſe of it, till he told her he had finiſhed his deſign, and waited for her reply. She then produced ſome of her objections, which he took up and canvaſſed in ſuch a manner, that at length ſhe burſt out into tears, allowed the force of his arguments and replies, and appeared for ſome time after ſo deeply impreſſed with the converſation, that it was obſerved by ſeveral of her friends: And there is reaſon to believe that the impreſſion continued, at leaſt ſo far as to prevent her from ever appearing under the character of an unbeliever or a ſceptic.

§ 41. This is only one ſpecimen among many of the battles he was almoſt daily called out to fight in the cauſe of religion and virtue; with relation to which I find him expreſſing himſelf thus, in a letter to Mrs Gardiner, his good mother, dated from Paris, the 25th of January following, that is, 1719-20, in anſwer to one, in which ſhe had warned him to expect ſuch trials: "I have, (ſays he,) already met "with them, and am obliged to fight, and "to diſpute every inch of ground: But "all thanks and praiſe to the great Captain "of my ſalvation: He fights for me and "then it is no wonder that I come off "more than conqueror:" by which laſt

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expreſſion I ſuppoſe he meant to inſinuate, that he was ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed, rather than overborne, by this oppoſition. Yet it was not immediately that he gained ſuch fortitude. He has often told me how much he felt in thoſe days of the emphaſis of thoſe well-choſen words of the apoſtle, in which he ranks the trial of cruel mockings, with ſcourgings, and bonds, and impriſonments. The continual railleries with which he was received, in almoſt all companies where he had been moſt familiar before, did often diſtreſs him beyond meaſure; ſo that he has ſeveral times declared, he would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged, ſo continually as he was, to face ſuch artillery as this. But, like a brave ſoldier in the firſt action wherein he is engaged, he continued reſolute tho' ſhuddering at the terror of the aſſault; and quickly overcame thoſe impreſſions, which it is not perhaps in nature wholly to avoid; and therefore I find him, in the letter referred to above, which was written about half a-year after his converſion, "quite "aſhamed to think of the uneaſineſs which "theſe things once gave him." In a word, he went on, as every reſolute Chriſtian by divine grace may do, till he turned ridicule and oppoſition into reſpect and veneration.

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§ 42. But this sensible triumph over these difficulties was not till his Christian experience had been abundantly advanced, by the blessing of GOD on the sermons he heard, (particularly in the Swiss Chapel,) and on the many hours which he spent in devout retirement, pouring out his whole soul before GOD in prayer. He began, within about two months after his first memorable change, to perceive some secret dawnings of more chearful hope, that, vile as he saw himself to be, (and I believe no words can express how vile that was,) he might nevertheless obtain mercy through a Redeemer. And at length, (if I remember right, about the end of October 1719,) he found all the burden of his mind taken off at once, by the powerful impression of that memorable scripture upon his mind, Rom. iii. 25, 26. "Whom GOD hath set forth for a propitiation, thro' faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness in the remission of sins,—that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." He had used to imagine, that the justice of GOD required the damnation of so enormous a sinner as he saw himself to be: But now he was made deeply sensible, that the divine justice might be, not only vindicated, but glorified, in saving him by the blood of Jesus, even that blood which clean-

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ſeth us from all ſin. Then did he ſee and feel the riches of redeeming love and grace, in ſuch a manner, as not only engaged him, with the utmoſt pleaſure and confidence, to venture his ſoul upon it, but even ſwallowed up (as it were) his whole heart in the returns of love; which from that bleſſed time became the genuine and delightful principle of his obedience, and animated him with an enlarged heart to run the way of GOD's commandments. Thus GOD was pleaſed, (as he himſelf uſed to ſpeak,) in an hour to turn his captivity. All the terrors of his former ſtate were changed into unutterable joy, which kept him almoſt continually waking for three nights together, and yet refreſhed him as the nobleſt of cordials. His expreſſions, tho' naturally very ſtrong, always ſeemed to be ſwallowed up, when he would deſcribe the ſeries of thought through which he now paſſed, under the rapturous experience of that joy unſpeakable and full of glory, which then ſeemed to overflow his very ſoul; as indeed there was nothing he ſeemed to ſpeak of with greater reliſh. And though the firſt ecſtaſies of it afterwards ſubſided into a more calm and compoſed delight, yet were the impreſſions ſo deep and ſo permanent, that he aſſured me, on the word of a Chriſtian and a friend, wonderful as it might ſeem,

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that for about ſeven years after this he enjoyed almoſt an heaven upon earth. His ſoul was ſo continually filled with a ſenſe of the love of GOD in CHRIST, that it knew little interruption, but when neceſſary converſe, and the duties of his ſtation, called off his thoughts for a little time: And when they did ſo, as ſoon as he was alone, the torrent returned into its natural channel again; ſo that, from the minute of his awakening in the morning, his heart was riſing to GOD, and triumphing in him; and theſe thoughts attended him thro' all the ſcenes of life, till he lay down on his bed again, and a ſhort parentheſis of ſleep (for it was but a very ſhort one that he allowed himſelf,) invigorated his animal powers, for renewing them with greater intenſeneſs and ſenſibility.

§ 43. I ſhall have an opportunity of illuſtrating this in the moſt convincing manner below, by extracts from ſeveral letters which he wrote to intimate friends during this happy period of time: letters which breathe a ſpirit of ſuch ſublime and fervent piety, as I have ſeldom met with any where elſe. In theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that he was greatly delighted with Dr Watts's imitation of the cxxvi. Pſalm; ſince it may be queſtioned, whether there

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ever was a perſon to whom the following ſtanzas of it were more ſuitable.

I.

When God reveal'd his gracious name,
And chang'd my mournful ſtate,
My rapture ſeem'd a pleaſing dream;
Thy grace appear'd ſo great.

II.

The world beheld the glorious change,
And did thine hand confeſs;
My tongue broke out in unknown ſtrains,
And ſung ſurpriſing grace.

III.

"Great is the work," my neighbours cry'd,
And own'd the pow'r divine:
"Great is the work," my heart reply'd,
"And be the glory thine."

IV.

The Lord can change the darkeſt ſkies,
Can give us day for night,
Make floods of ſacred ſorrow riſe
To rivers of delight.

V.

Let thoſe that ſow in ſadneſs wait
'Till the fair harveſt come;
They ſhall confeſs their ſheaves are great,
And ſhout the bleſſings home.

§ 44. I have been ſo happy as to get the ſight of five original letters, which he

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wrote to his mother about this time; which do, in a very lively manner, illustrate the surprising change made in the whole current of his thoughts, and temper of his mind. Many of them were written in the most hasty manner, just as the courier who brought them was perhaps unexpectedly setting out; and they relate chiefly to affairs, in which the public is not at all concerned: yet there is not one of them in which he has not inserted some warm and genuine sentiment of religion. And indeed it is very remarkable, that though he was pleased to honour me with a great many letters, and I have seen several more which he wrote to others, some of them on journies, where he could have but a few minutes at command, yet I cannot recollect that I ever saw any one in which there was not some trace of piety. And the reverend Mr Webster, who was employed to review great numbers of them, that he might select such extracts as he should think proper to communicate to me, has made the same observation *.

§ 45. The Major, with great justice, tells the good lady his mother, "that when she

* His words are these: "I have read over a vast "number of the Colonel's letters, and have not found "any of them, however short, and writ in the "most passing manner, even when posting, but what "is expressive of the most passionate breathings to-

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" ſaw him again ſhe would find the per-
" ſon indeed the ſame, but every thing elſe
" entirely changed." And ſhe might eaſi-
ly have perceived it of herſelf, by the whole tenour of thoſe letters, which every where breathe the unaffected ſpirit of a true Chriſtian. They are taken up ſometimes with giving advice and directions concerning ſome pious and charitable contributions; (one of which I remember amounted to ten guineas, tho', as he was then out of commiſſion, and had not formerly been very frugal, it cannot be ſuppoſed he had much to ſpare;) ſometimes in ſpeaking of the pleaſure with which he attended ſermons, and expected ſacramental opportunities; and at other times in exhorting her, eſtabliſhed as ſhe was in religion, to labour after a yet more exemplary character and conduct; or in recommending her to the divine preſence and bleſſing, as well as himſelf to her prayers. What ſatisfaction ſuch letters as theſe muſt give to a lady of her diſtinguiſhed piety, who had ſo long wept over this dear and amiable ſon, as quite loſt to GOD, and on the verge of final deſtruc-

" wards his God and Saviour. If the letter con-
" ſiſts but of two ſentences, religion is not forgot,
" which doubtleſs deſerves to be carefully remark-
" ed, as the moſt uncontested evidence of a pious
" mind, ever under the warmeſt impreſſions of di-
" vine things."

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tion, it is not for me to deſcribe, or indeed to conceive. But haſtily as theſe letters were written, only for private view, I will give a few ſpecimens from them in his own words, which will ſerve to illuſtrate, as well as confirm, what I have hinted above.

§ 46. "I muſt take the liberty," ſays he, in a letter dated on the firſt day of the new year, or according to the old ſtyle, Dec. 21, 17 9, 'to intreat you that you would 'receive no company on the Lord's day. 'I know you have a great many good ac-'quaintance, with whoſe diſcourſes one 'might be very well edified; but as you 'cannot keep out and let in whom you 'pleaſe, the beſt way, in my humble opi-'nion, will be to ſee none." In another, of Jan. 25. 'I am happier than any one 'can imagine, except I could put him ex-'actly in the ſame ſituation with myſelf; 'which is what the world cannot give, and 'no man ever attained it, unleſs it were 'from above.' In another, dated March 30, which was juſt before a ſacrament day, 'To-morrow, if it pleaſe GOD, I ſhall be 'happy; my ſoul being to be fed with the 'bread of life, which came down from 'heaven. I ſhall be mindful of you all 'there.' In another of Jan. 29, he thus expreſſes that indifference for worldly poſ-

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ſeſſions, which he ſo remarkably carried through all the remainder of his life: 'I 'know the rich are only ſtewards for the 'poor, and muſt give an account of every 'penny; therefore, the leſs I have, the 'more eaſily will it be to render a faithful 'account of it.' And to add no more from theſe letters at preſent, in the concluſion of one of them he has theſe comprehenſive and ſolemn words: 'Now that He, who is 'the eaſe of the afflicted, the ſupport of 'the weak, the wealth of the poor, the 'teacher of the ignorant, the anchor of 'the fearful, and the infinite reward of all 'faithful ſouls, may pour out upon you all 'his richeſt bleſſings, ſhall always be the 'prayer of him who is entirely yours, &c.'

§ 47. To this account of his correſpondence with his excellent mother I ſhould be glad to add a large view of another, to which ſhe introduced him, with that reverend and valuable perſon, under whoſe paſtoral care ſhe was placed, I mean the juſtly celebrated Doctor Edmund Calamy, to whom ſhe could not but early communicate the joyful news of her ſon's converſion. I am not ſo happy as to be poſſeſſed of the letters which paſſed between them, which I have reaſon to believe would make a curious and valuable collection: But I have had the pleaſure of receiving, from my

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worthy and amiable friend, the Rev. Mr Edmund Calamy, one of the letters which the Doctor his father wrote to the Major on this wonderful occaſion. I perceive by the contents of it, that it was the firſt; and indeed it is dated as early as the third of Auguſt 1719, which muſt be but a few days after his own account, dated Aug 4. N. S. could reach England. There is ſo much true religion and good ſenſe in this paper, and the counſel it ſuggeſts may be ſo ſeaſonable to other perſons in circumſtances which bear any reſemblance to his, that I make no apology to my Reader for inſerting a large extract from it.

§ 48. "Dear Sir,——I conceive it will "not much ſurpriſe you to underſtand that "your good mother communicated to me "your letter to her, dated Aug. 4, N. S. "which brought her the news you con-"ceive would be ſo acceptable to her. I, "who have often been a witneſs to her "concern for you on a ſpiritual account, "can atteſt with what joy this news was "received by her, and imparted to me as a "ſpecial friend, who ſhe knew would bear "a part with her on ſuch an occaſion. "And indeed, if (as our Saviour intimates, "Luke xv. 7, 10.) there is in ſuch caſes "joy in heaven and among the angels "of GOD, it may well be ſuppoſed, that

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" of a pious mother, who has ſpent ſo
" many prayers and tears upon you, and
" has as it were travailed in birth with you
" again, till Chriſt was formed in you,
" could not be ſmall. You may believe
" me if I add, that I alſo, as a common
" friend of her's and your's, and, which
" is much more, of the Prince of light,
" whom you now declare you heartily fall
" in with, in oppoſition to that of the dark
" kingdom, could not but be tenderly af-
" fected with an account of it under your
" own hand. My joy on this account was
" the greater, conſidering the importance
" of your capacity, intereſts, and proſpects;
" which in ſuch an age as this may pro-
" miſe moſt happy conſequences, on your
" heartily appearing on GOD's ſide, and
" embarking in the intereſts of our dear
" Redeemer. If I have hitherto at all re-
" membered you at the throne of grace,
" at your good mother's deſire, (which
" you are pleaſed to take notice of with
" ſo much reſpect,) I can aſſure you I ſhall
" henceforward be led to do it with more
" concern and particularity, both by duty
" and inclination. And if I were capable
" of giving you any little aſſiſtance in the
" noble deſign you are engaging in, by
" correſponding with you by letter, while
" you are at ſuch a diſtance, I ſhould do
" it more chearfully. And, perhaps, ſuch

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" a motion may not be altogether unac-
" ceptable: For I am inclinable to believe,
" that when ſome, whom you are obliged
" to converſe with, obſerve your beha-
" viour ſo different from what it formerly
" was, and banter you upon it as mad and
" fanciful, it may be ſome little relief to
" correſpond with one who will take a
" pleaſure in heartening and encouraging
" you. And when a great many things
" frequently offer, in which conſcience may
" be concerned where duty may not al-
" ways be plain, nor ſuitable perſons to ad-
" viſe with at hand, it may be ſome ſatis-
" faction to you to correſpond with one
" with whom you may uſe a friendly free-
" dom in all ſuch matters, and on whoſe
" fidelity you may depend. You may
" therefore command me in any of theſe
" reſpects, and I ſhall take a pleaſure in
" ſerving you.—One piece of advice I
" ſhall venture to give you, though your
" own good ſenſe will make my enlarging
" upon it leſs needful; I mean, that you
" would, from your firſt ſetting out, care-
" fully diſtinguiſh between the eſſentials of
" real religion, and thoſe things which
" are commonly reckoned by its profeſſors
" to belong to it. The want of this di-
" ſtinction has had very unhappy conſe-
" quences from one age to another, and
" perhaps in none more than the preſent.

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"But your daily converſe with your Bible, "which you mention, may herein give "you great aſſiſtance. I move alſo, that "ſince infidelity ſo much abounds, you "would not only, by cloſe and ſerious con- "ſideration, endeavour to ſettle yourſelf "well in the fundamental principles of re- "ligion; but alſo that, as opportunity of- "fers, you would converſe with thoſe "books which treat moſt judiciouſly on "the divine original of Chriſtianity, ſuch "as Grotius, Abadie, Baxter, Bates, Du "Pleſſis, &c. which may eſtabliſh you a- "gainſt the cavils that occur in almoſt all "converſations, and furniſh you with ar- "guments which, when properly offered, "may be of uſe to make ſome impreſſions "on others. But being too much ſtrait- "ened to enlarge at preſent, I can only add, "that if your hearty falling in with ſerious "religion ſhould prove any hindrance to "your advancement in the world, (which "I pray GOD it may not, unleſs ſuch ad- "vancement would be a real ſnare to you,) "I hope you will truſt our Saviour's word, "that it ſhall be no diſadvantage to you "in the final iſſue: He has given you his "word for it, Mat. xix. 29. upon which "you may ſafely depend; and I am ſatis- "fied none that ever did ſo at laſt repent- "ed of it. May you go on and proſper,

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" and the God of all grace and peace be " with you!"

§ 49. I think it very evident, from the contents of this letter, that the Major had not imparted to his mother the most singular circumstances attending his conversion: And, indeed, there was something so peculiar in them, that I do not wonder he was always cautious in speaking of them, and especially that he was at first much on the reserve. We may also naturally reflect, that there seems to have been something very providential in this letter, considering the debate in which our illustrious convert was so soon engaged; for it was written but about three weeks before his conference with the lady, above-mentioned, in the defence of Christianity; or, at least, before the appointment of it. And as some of the books recommended by Dr Calamy, particularly Abadie and Du Plessis, were undoubtedly within his reach, (if our English Advocates were not,) this might, by the divine blessing, contribute considerably towards arming him for that combat, in which he came off with such happy success. And as in this instance, so in many others, they who will observe the coincidence and concurrence of things, may be engaged to adore the wise conduct of Providence in events, which, when ta-

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kenningly and by themſelves, have nothing very remarkable in them.

§ 50. I think it was about this time that this reſolute and exemplary Chriſtian entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he purſued through ſo many ſucceeding years of life; and, I believe, generally, ſo far as the broken ſtate of his health would allow it in his latter days, to the very end of it, he uſed conſtantly to riſe at four in the morning, and to ſpend his time till ſix, in the ſecret exerciſes of devotion, reading, meditation, and prayer; in which laſt he contracted ſuch a fervency of ſpirit, as I believe few men living ever obtained. This certainly tended very much to ſtrengthen that firm faith in GOD, and reverent animating ſenſe of his preſence, for which he was ſo eminently remarkable, and which carried him through the trials and ſervices of life, with ſuch ſteadineſs and with ſuch activity; for he indeed endured, and acted as always ſeeing Him who is inviſible. If at any time he was obliged to go out before ſix in the morning, he roſe proportionably ſooner, ſo that when a journey or a march has required him to be on horſeback by four, he would be at his devotions at fartheſt by two. He likewiſe ſecured time for retirement in an evening; and that he might have it the more at command, and be the more fit to uſe it pro-

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perly, as well as the better able to riſe early the next morning, he generally went to bed about ten: And, during the time I was acquainted with him, he ſeldom eat any ſupper, but a mouthful of bread, with one glaſs of wine. In conſequence of this, as well as of his admirably good conſtitution, and the long habit he had formed, he required leſs ſleep than moſt perſons I have known: And I doubt not but his uncommon progreſs in piety was in a great meaſure owing to theſe reſolute habits of ſelf-denial.

§ 51. A life any thing like this, could not, to be ſure, be entered upon, in the midſt of ſuch company as he had been accuſtomed to keep, without great oppoſition; eſpecially as he did not entirely withdraw himſelf from chearful converſation; but, on the contrary, gave ſeveral hours every day to it, leſt religion ſhould be reproached, as having made him moroſe. He however early began a practice, which to the laſt day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneneſs; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the conſciouſneſs of ſuch ſuperiority in the goodneſs of his cauſe.

§ 52. A remarkable inſtance of this happened, if I miſtake not, about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the ſtory. It was, however, on his firſt return to make

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any conſiderable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other ſide of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was ſtark mad: A report, at which no reader, who knows the wiſdom of the world in theſe matters, will be much ſurpriſed any more than himſelf. He concluded therefore that he ſhould have many battles to fight, and was willing to diſpatch the buſineſs as faſt as he could. And therefore, being to ſpend a few days at the country-houſe of a perſon of diſtinguiſhed rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whoſe name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters ſo, that a day or two after he came down, ſeveral of their former gay companions might meet at his Lordſhip's table, that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reaſons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of raillery paſſed at dinner, to which the Major made very little anſwer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the ſervants retired, he begged their patience for a few

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minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that, by the grace of God, he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened; which they would probably have interpreted to a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse: But he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, (to one part of which many of them had been witnesses,) that, after having run the widest round of sensual pleasure, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called happiness, till he had made religion his refuge and delight. He testified calmly

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and boldly the habitual ſerenity and peace that he now felt in his own breaſt, (for the moſt elevated delights he did not think fit to plead, leſt they ſhould be eſteemed enthuſiaſm,) and the compoſure and pleaſure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayeſt ſinner muſt acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful.

§ 53. I know not what might be attempted by ſome of the company in anſwer to this, but I well remember he told me, the maſter of the table, a perſon of a very frank and candid diſpoſition, cut ſhort the debate, and ſaid, "Come, let us all call another cauſe: We thought this man mad, "and he is in good earneſt proving that "we are ſo." On the whole, this well-judged circumſtance ſaved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance obſerved that he was ſtill converſable and innocently chearful, and that he was immoveable in his reſolutions, they deſiſted from farther importunity. And he has aſſured me, that inſtead of loſing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himſelf much more eſteemed and regarded by many who could not perſuade themſelves to imitate his ample.

14. I have not any memoirs of Co... Gardiner's life, or of any other re...rkable event befalling him in it, from ... time of his return to England, till his

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marriage in the year 1726; except the extracts which have been sent me from some letters, which he wrote to his religious friends during this interval, and which I cannot pass by without a more particular notice. It may be recollected, that in consequence of the reduction of that regiment of which he was Major, he was out of commission from Nov. the 10th 1718, till June the 1st 1724: And after he returned from Paris, I find all his letters, during this period, dated from London, where he continued in communion with the Christian society under the pastoral care of Dr Calamy. As his good mother also belonged to the same, it is easy to imagine, it must be an unspeakable pleasure to her to have such frequent opportunities of conversing with such a son, of observing in his daily conduct and discourses the blessed effects of that change which divine grace had made in his heart, and of sitting down with him monthly at that sacred feast, where Christians so frequently enjoy the divinest entertainments which they expect on this side heaven. I the rather mention this ordinance, because, as this excellent lady had a very high esteem for it, so she had an opportunity of attending but the very Lord's day immediately preceding her death, which happened on Thursd. Oct. 7. 1725. after her son had been removed from her almost a year. He had maintained her

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handſomely out of that very moderate income, on which he ſubſiſted ſince his regiment had been diſbanded; and when ſhe expreſſed her gratitude to him for it, he aſſured her, (I think in one of the laſt letters ever ſhe received from him,) "that "he eſteemed it a great honour, that GOD "put it into his power to make," what he called, "a very ſmall acknowledgment "of all her care for him, and eſpecially of "the many prayers ſhe had offered on his "account, which had already been remark-"ably anſwered, and the benefit of which "he hoped ever to enjoy."

§ 55. I apprehend that the Earl of Stair's regiment, to the majority of which he was promoted on the 20th of July 1724, was then quartered in Scotland; for all the letters in my hand, from that time to the 6th of February 1726, are dated from thence, and particularly from Douglas, Stranrawer, Hamilton, and Ayr: But I have the pleaſure to find, from comparing theſe with others of an earlier date from London and the neighbouring parts, that neither the detriment which he muſt ſuffer by being ſo long out of commiſſion, nor the hurry of affairs while charged with it, could prevent or interrupt that intercourſe with heaven, which was his daily feaſt, and his daily ſtrength.

§ 56. Theſe were moſt eminently the happy years of his life: For he had learn-

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ed to estimate his happiness, not by the increase of honour, or the possession of wealth, or by what was much dearer to his generous heart than either, the converse of the dearest and worthiest human friends; but by nearness to GOD, and by opportunities of humble converse with him in the lively exercise of contemplation, praise, and prayer. Now there was no period of his life, in which he was more eminently favoured with these; nor do I find any of his letters so overflowing with transports of holy joy, as those which were dated during this time. There are indeed in some of them such very sublime passages, that I have been dubious whether I should communicate them to the public or not, lest I should administer matter of profane ridicule to some, who, look upon all the elevation of devotion as contemptible enthusiasm. And it has also given me some apprehensions, lest it should discourage some pious Christians, who, after having spent several years in the service of GOD, and in humble obedience to the precepts of his gospel, may not have attained to any such heights as these. But, on the whole, I cannot satisfy myself to suppress them; not only as I number some of them, considered in a devotional view, among the most extraordinary pieces of the kind I have ever met with; but as some of the

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moſt excellent and judicious perſons I any where know, to whom I have read them, have aſſured me, that they felt their hearts in an unuſual manner impreſſed, quickened, and edified by them.

§ 57. I will therefore draw back the veil, and ſhew my much-honoured friend in his moſt ſecret receſſes; that the world may ſee what thoſe ſprings were, from whence iſſued that clear, permanent, and living ſtream of wiſdom, piety, and virtue, which ſo apparently ran through all that part of his life which was open to public obſervation. It is not to be imagined, that letters, written in the intimacy of Chriſtian friendſhip, ſome of them with the moſt apparent marks of haſte, and amidſt a variety of important public cares, ſhould be adorned with any ſtudied elegance of expreſſion, about which the greatneſs of his ſoul would not allow him to be at any time very ſolicitous; for he generally (ſo far as I could obſerve,) wrote as faſt as his pen could move, which happily, both for him, and his many friends, was very freely. Yet here the grandeur of his ſubject has ſometimes clothed his ideas with a language more elevated than is ordinarily to be expected in an epiſtolary correſpondence. The proud ſcorners, who may deride ſentiments and enjoyments like thoſe which this truly great man ſo experimentally and

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pathetically deſcribes, I pity from my heart; and grieve to think how unfit they muſt be for the hallelujahs of heaven, who pour contempt upon the neareſt approaches to them: Nor ſhall I think it any misfortune to ſhare with ſo excellent a perſon in their profane deriſion. It will be infinitely more than an equivalent for all that ſuch ignorance and petulancy can think and ſay, if I may convince ſome, who are as yet ſtrangers to religion, how real and how noble its delights are; if I may engage my pious readers to glorify GOD for ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of his grace; and, finally, if I may quicken them, and above all may rouſe my own too-indulgent ſpirit, to follow with leſs unequal ſteps, an example, to the ſublimity of which, I fear, few of us ſhall, after all, be able fully to attain. And that we may not be too much diſcouraged under the deficiency, let it be recollected, that few have the advantage of a temper naturally ſo warm; few have an equal command of retirement; and perhaps hardly any one, who thinks himſelf moſt indebted to the riches and freedom of divine grace, can trace interpoſitions of it, in all reſpects, equally aſtoniſhing.

§ 58. The firſt of theſe extraordinary letters which have fallen into my hand, is dated near three years after his converſion,

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and addreſſed to a lady of quality. I believe it is the firſt the Major ever wrote, ſo immediately on the ſubject of his religious conſolations and converſe with GOD in devout retirement. For I well remember, that he once told me he was ſo much afraid that ſomething of ſpiritual pride ſhould mingle itſelf with the relation of ſuch kind of experiences, that he concealed them a long time: But obſerving with how much freedom the ſacred writers open all the moſt ſecret receſſes of their hearts, eſpecially in the Pſalms, his conſcience began to be burthened, under an apprehenſion, that, for the honour of GOD, and in order to engage the concurrent praiſes of ſome of his people, he ought to diſcloſe them. On this he ſet himſelf to reflect, who among all his numerous acquaintance ſeemed at once the moſt experienced Chriſtian he knew, (to whom therefore ſuch things as he had to communicate might appear ſolid and credible,) and who the humbleſt. He quickly thought of the Lady Marchioneſs of Douglas in this view: And the reader may well imagine, that it ſtruck my mind very ſtrongly, to think that now, more than twenty-four years after it was written, Providence ſhould bring to my hands, (as it has done within theſe few days,) what I aſſuredly believe to be a genuine copy of that very letter, which I had not the leaſt reaſon to

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expect I ſhould ever have ſeen, when
learned from his own mouth, amidſt th
freedom of an accidental converſation, th
occaſion and circumſtances of it.

§ 59. It is dated from London July 2
1712, and the very firſt lines of it relat
to a remarkable circumſtance, which fro
others of his letters I find have happene
ſeveral times. I mean, that when he ha
received from any of his Chriſtian friend
a few lines which particularly affected h
heart, he could not ſtay till the ſtated r
turn of his devotional hour, but immed
ately retired to pray for them, and to giv
vent to theſe religious emotions of min
which ſuch a correſpondence raiſed. Ho
invaluable was ſuch a friend! and how gre
reaſon have thoſe of us, who once poſſeſ
ed a large ſhare in his heart, and in tho
retired and ſacred moments, to bleſs Go
for ſo ſingular a felicity; and to comfo
ourſelves in a pleaſing hope that we ma
yet reap future bleſſings, as the harveſt
thoſe petitions which he can no more re
peat!

§ 60. His words are theſe: 'I was
'happy as to receive your's juſt as I arr
'ved, and I had no ſooner read it, but
'ſhut my door, and ſought him whom m
'ſoul loveth. I ſought him, and found him
'and would not let him go till he had ble
'ſed us all. It is impoſſible to find wor

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'to expreſs what I obtained; but I ſuppoſe it was ſomething like that which the 'diſciples got as they were going to Emmaus, when they ſaid, Did not our hearts 'burn within us &c. or rather like what 'Paul felt, when he could not tell whether 'he was in the body or out of it.' He then mentions his dread of ſpiritual pride, from which he earneſtly prays that GOD may deliver and preſerve him. 'This,' ſays he, 'would have hindered me from communicating theſe things, if I had not ſuch 'an example before me as the man after 'GOD's own heart, ſaying, I will declare 'what GOD hath done for my ſoul; and 'elſewhere, The humble ſhall hear thereof, 'and be glad: Now I am well ſatisfied that 'your Ladyſhip is of that number.' He then adds, 'I had no ſooner finiſhed this 'exerciſe,' that is, of prayer above-mentioned, 'but I ſat down to admire the goodneſs of my GOD, that he would vouchſafe to influence by his free Spirit ſo undeſerving a wretch as I, and to make me 'thus to mount up with eagles wings. And 'here I was loſt again, and got into an ocean, where I could find neither bound 'nor bottom, but was obliged to cry out 'with the apoſtle, O the breadth, the length, 'the depth, the heighth, of the love of Chriſt, 'which paſſeth knowledge! But if I give 'way to this ſtrain, I ſhall never have done.

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'That the GOD of hope may fill you with 'all joy and peace in believing, that you 'may abound in hope thro' the power of 'the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall always be the prayer 'of him, who is, with the greateſt ſincerity 'and reſpect, your Ladyſhip's, &c.

§ 61. Another paſſage to the ſame purpoſe I find in a memorandum, which he ſeems to have written for his own uſe, dated Monday March 11, which, I perceive, from 'many concurrent circumſtances, muſt have been in the year 1722-3. 'This day,' ſays he, 'having been to viſit Mrs G. at Hamp-'ſtead, I came home about two, and read 'a ſermon on theſe words, Pſal. cxxx. 4. 'But there is forgiveneſs with thee that 'thou mayeſt be feared. About the latter 'end of which, there is a deſcription of 'the miſerable condition of thoſe that are ſlighters of pardoning grace. From a 'ſenſe of the great obligations I lay under 'to the Almighty GOD, who hath made 'me to differ from ſuch, from what I was, 'and from the reſt of my companions, I 'kneel'd down to praiſe his holy name; and 'I know not that in my lifetime I ever 'lay lower in the duſt, never having had 'a fuller view of my own unworthineſs. 'I never pleaded more ſtrongly the merits 'and interceſſion of him, who I know is 'worthy; never vowed more ſincerely to 'be the Lord's, and to accept of CHRIST

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'as he is offered in the gospel, as my king, 'priest, and prophet; never had so strong 'a desire to depart, that I might sin no 'more; but——my grace is sufficient—— 'curbed that desire. I never pleaded with 'greater fervency for the Comforter, which 'our blessed Lord hath promised shall a-'bide with us for ever. For all which I de-'sire to ascribe glory, &c. to Him that sit-'teth on the throne, and to the Lamb.'

§ 62. There are several others of his papers which speak much the same language; which, had he kept a diary, would (I doubt not) have filled many sheets. I believe, my devout readers would not soon be weary of reading extracts of this kind: But that I may not exceed in this part of my narrative, I shall mention only two more; each of them dated some years after; that is, one from Douglas, April 1st 1725; and the other from Stranrawer, the 25th of May following.

§ 63. The former of these relates to the frame of his spirit on a journey. On the mention of which, I cannot but recollect how often I have heard him say, that some of the most delightful days of his life were days in which he travelled alone, (that is, with only a servant at a distance;) when [illegible], especially in roads not much fre-[illegible], indulge himself in the pleasures prayer and praise. In the exercise of

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which last, he was greatly assisted by several Psalms and Hymns, which he had treasured up in his memory, and which he used not only to repeat aloud, but sometimes to sing. In reference to this I remember the following passage, in a letter which he wrote to me many years after, when on mentioning my ever dear and honoured friend the Rev. Dr Watts, he says, 'How often in singing some of his Psalms, 'Hymns, or Lyrics, on horseback, and elsewhere, has the evil spirit been made to 'fly;

'Whene'er my heart in tune was found,
'Like David's harp of solemn sound!'

§ 64. Such was the first of April abovementioned, in the evening of which he writes thus to an intimate friend: 'What 'would I have given this day, upon the 'road, for paper, pen, and ink, when the 'Spirit of the most high rested upon me! 'Oh for the pen of a ready writer, and 'the tongue of an angel to declare what 'GOD hath this day done for my soul! But 'in short, it is in vain to attempt it: All 'that I am able to say is only this, that 'my soul has been for some hours joining 'with the blessed spirits above, in giving 'glory, and honour, and praise, unto Him 'that sitteth upon the throne, and to the

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'Lamb for ever and ever. My praiſes be-
'gan from a renewed view of him, whom
'I ſaw pierced for my tranſgreſſions. I
'ſummoned the whole hierarchy of hea-
'ven to join with me; and I am perſua-
'ded they all echoed back praiſe to the
'Moſt High. Yea, one would have thought
'the very larks joined me with emulation.
'Sure then I need not make uſe of many
'words, to perſuade you that are his ſaints
'to join me in bleſſing and praiſing his holy
'name.' He concludes, 'May the bleſſing
'of the GOD of Jacob reſt upon you all?
'Adieu. Written in great haſte, late, and
'weary.'

§ 65. Scarce can I here refrain from breaking out into more copious reflections on the exquiſite pleaſures of true religion, when riſen to ſuch eminent degrees; which can thus feaſt the ſoul in its ſolitude, and refreſh it on journies, and bring down ſo much of heaven to earth as this delightful letter expreſſes. But the remark is ſo obvious, that I will not enlarge upon it, but proceed to the other letter above mentioned, which was written the next month, on the Tueſday after a ſacrament day.

§ 66. He mentions the pleaſure with which he had attended a preparation Sermon the Saturday before, and then he adds, 'I took a walk upon the mountains that are 'over-againſt Ireland; and I perſuade my-

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'ſelf, that, were I capable of giving you a 'deſcription of what paſſed there, you 'would agree that I had much better rea-'ſon to remember my GOD from the hills 'of Port-Patrick, than David from the 'land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites 'from the hill Mizar.' I ſuppoſe he means in reference to the clearer diſcoveries of the goſpel with which we are favoured. 'In ſhort,' ſays he immediately afterwards, in that ſcripture phraſe which was become ſo familiar to him, 'wreſtled ſome hours 'with the Angel of the covenant, and made 'ſupplications to him with floods of tears 'and cries,——until I had almoſt expired; 'but he ſtrengthened me ſo, that, like Ja-'cob, I had power with GOD, and prevailed. 'This,' adds he, 'is but a very faint de-'ſcription: You will be more able to judge 'of it by what you have felt yourſelf up-'on the like occaſions. After ſuch prepa-'ratory work, I need not tell you how 'bleſſed the ſolemn ordinance of the Lord's 'ſupper proved to me; I hope it was ſo 'to many. You may believe I ſhould 'have been exceedingly glad if my graci-'ous Lord had ordered it ſo that I might 'have made you a viſit, as I propoſed: 'But I am now glad it was ordered other-'wiſe, ſince he hath cauſed ſo much of his 'goodneſs to paſs before me. Were I to 'give you an account of the many favours

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'my GOD hath loaded me with ſince I 'parted from you, I muſt have taken up 'many days in nothing but writing. I hope 'you will join with me in praiſes for all the 'goodneſs he has ſhewn to your unworthy 'brother in the Lord.'

§ 67. Such were the ardours and elevations of his ſoul: But while I record theſe memorials of them, I am very ſenſible there are many who will be inclined to cenſure them, as the flights of enthuſiaſm; for which reaſon I muſt beg leave to add a remark or two upon the occaſion, which will be illuſtrated by ſeveral other extracts, which I ſhall introduce into the ſequel of theſe memoirs. The one is, that he never pretends, in any of the paſſages cited above, or elſewhere, to have received any immediate revelations from GOD, which ſhould raiſe him above the ordinary methods of inſtruction, or diſcover any thing to him, whether of doctrines or facts. No man was farther from pretending to predict future events, except it were from the moral prognoſtications of cauſes naturally tending to produce them; in tracing of which he had indeed an admirable ſagacity, as I have ſeen in ſome very remarkable inſtances. Neither was he at all inclinable to govern himſelf by ſecret impulſes upon his mind, leading him to things for which he could aſſign no reaſon but the impulſe itſelf.

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Had he ventured, in a presumption on such secret agitations of mind, to teach, or to do any thing, not warranted by the dictates of sound sense and the word of GOD, I should readily have acknowledged him an enthusiast, unless he could have produced some other evidence than his own persuation to have supported the authority of them. But these ardent expressions, which some may call enthusiasm, seem only to evidence a heart deeply affected with a sense of the divine presence and perfections, and of that love which passeth knowledge; especially, as manifested in our redemption by the Son of GOD, which did indeed inflame his whole soul. And he thought he might reasonably ascribe the strong impressions, to which men are generally such strangers, and of which he had been long entirely destitute, to the agency or influence of the Spirit of GOD upon his heart; and that in proportion to the degree in which he felt them, he might properly say, GOD was present with him, and he conversed with GOD *. Now when we con-

* The ingenious and pious Mr Grove, (who I think was as little suspected of running into enthusiastical extremes as most divines I could name,) has a noble passage to this purpose, in the sixth volume of his Posthumous works, pag. 40, 41. which respect to the memory of both these excellent persons inclines me to insert here. "How often are good "thoughts suggested," (viz. to the pure in heart,) "heavenly

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ſider the ſcriptural phraſes, 'of walking 'with GOD, of having communion with 'the Father and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, of 'Chriſt's coming to them that open the 'door of their hearts to him, and ſupping 'with them, of GOD's ſhedding abroad his 'love in the heart by his Spirit, of his co-'ming with Jeſus Chriſt, and making his 'abode with any man that loves him, of 'his melting him that worketh righteouſ-'neſs, of his making us glad by the light 'of his countenance,' and a variety of o-ther equivalent expreſſions; I believe we ſhall ſee reaſon to judge much more favourable of ſuch expreſſions as thoſe now in queſtion, than perſons who are themſelves ſtrangers to elevated devotion, and perhaps converſe but little with their Bible,

" heavenly affections kindled and inflamed! How " often is the Chriſtian prompted to holy actions, " drawn to his duty, reſtored, quickened, perſua-" ded, in ſuch a manner, that he would be unjuſt " to the Spirit of God to queſtion his agency to the " whole! Yes, oh my ſoul, there is a ſupreme Be-" ing, who governs the world, and is preſent with " it, who takes up his more ſpecial habitations in " good men, and is nigh to all who call upon him, " to ſanctify and aſſiſt them! Haſt thou not felt him, " oh my ſoul, like another ſoul, actuating thy facul-ties, exalting thy views, purifying thy paſſions, exciting thy graces, and begetting in thee an abhorrence of ſin, and a love of holineſs? And is not all this an argument of his preſence, as truly as if thou didſt ſee him?"

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are inclined to do, especially if they have, as many such persons have, a temper that inclines them to cavil and find fault. And I must farther observe, that amidst all those freedoms, with which this eminent Christian opens his devout heart to the most intimate of his friends, he still speaks with profound awe and reverence of his heavenly Father, and his Saviour; and maintains (after the example of the sacred writers themselves,) a kind of dignity in his expressions suitable to such a subject, without any of that fond familiarity of language, and degrading meanness of phrase, by which it is, especially of late, grown fashionable among some, (who nevertheless I believe mean well,) to express their love and their humility.

§. 68. On the whole, habitual love to God, firm faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, a steady dependence on the divine promises, a full persuasion of the wisdom and goodness of all the dispensations of Providence, a high esteem for the blessings of the heavenly world, and a sincere contempt for the vanities of this, can properly be called enthusiasm, then was Colonel Gardiner indeed one of the greatest enthusiasts our age has produced; and in proportion to the degree in which he was so, I must esteem him one of the wisest and happiest of mankind. Nor do I fear to

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tell the world, that it is the deſign of my writing theſe memoirs, and of every thing elſe that I undertake in life, to ſpread this glorious and bleſſed enthuſiaſm, which I know to be the anticipation of Heaven, as well as the moſt certain way to it.

§ 69. But leſt any ſhould poſſibly imagine, that, allowing the experiences which have been deſcribed above to have been ever ſo ſolid and important, yet there may be ſome appearance of boaſting in ſo free a communication of them; I muſt add to what I have hinted in reference to this above, that I find, in many of the papers before me, very genuine expreſſions of the deepeſt humility and ſelf-abaſement; which indeed ſuch holy converſe with GOD in prayer and praiſe does above all things in the world tend to inſpire and promote. Thus in one of his letters he ſays, 'I am 'but as a beaſt before him.' In another he calls himſelf 'a miſerable hell-deſerving 'ſinner.' And in another he cries out, 'Oh, how good a Maſter do I ſerve! but 'alas, how ungrateful am I! What can be 'ſo aſtoniſhing as the love of CHRIST to 'us, unleſs it be the coldneſs of our ſinful 'hearts towards ſuch a Saviour?" With any other clauſes of the like nature, which I ſhall not ſet myſelf more particularly to trace, through the variety of letters in which they occur.

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§ 70. It is a farther instance of this unfeigned humility, that when (as his Lady with her usual propriety of language expresses it, in one of her letters to me concerning him,) 'these divine joys and consolations were not his daily allowance,' he, with equal freedom, in the confidence of Christian friendship, acknowledges and laments it. Thus in the first letter I had the honour of receiving from him, dated from Leicester, July 9. 1739. when he had been mentioning the blessing with which it had pleased God to attend my last address to him, and the influence it had upon his mind, he adds, 'Much do I stand in need 'of every help to awaken me out of that 'spiritual deadness, which seizes me so often. Once indeed it was quite otherwise 'with me, and that for many years:

'Firm was my health, my day was bright,
'And I presum'd 't would ne'er be night:
'Fondly I said within my heart,
'Pleasure and peace shall ne'er depart;
'But I forgot. Thine arm was strong,
'Which made my mountain stand so long:
'Soon as thy face began to hide,
'My health was gone, my comforts died.

'And here,' adds he, 'lies my sin, and my 'folly.'

§ 71. I mention this, that the whole

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matter may be seen just as it was, and that others Christians may not be discouraged, if they feel some abatement of that fervour, and of those holy joys which they may have experienced during some of the first months or years of their spiritual life. But with relation to the Colonel, I have great reason to believe, that these which he laments as his days of spiritual deadness were not unanimated; and that quickly after the date of this letter, and especially nearer the close of his life, he had farther revivings, as the joyful anticipation of those better things in reserve, which were then nearly approaching. And thus Mr Spears, in the letter I mentioned above, tells us he related the matter to him; (for he studies as much as possible to retain the Colonel's own words:) 'However,' says he, 'after that happy 'period of sensible communion, though 'my joys and enlargements were not so 'overflowing and sensible, yet I have had 'habitual real communion with GOD from 'that day to this;" the latter end of the year 1743; 'and I know myself, and all 'that know me see, that through the grace 'of GOD, to which I ascribe all, my con-'versation has been becoming the gospel; d let me die, whenever it shall please D, or wherever it shall be, I am sure all go to the mansions of eternal glo-, &c.' And this is perfectly agreeable

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to the manner in which he used to speak to me on this head, which we have talked over frequently and largely.

§ 72. In this connection I hope my reader will forgive my inserting a little story which I received from a very worthy minister in Scotland, and which I shall give in his own words. 'In this period,' meaning that which follows the first seven years after his conversion, 'when his complaint of comparative deadness and languor in religion began, he had a dream; 'which, though he had no turn at all for 'taking notice of dreams, yet made a very strong impression upon his mind. He 'imagined that he saw his blessed Redeemer on earth, and that he was following him through a large field; following him whom his soul loved, but much troubled, because he thought his blessed 'Lord did not speak to him, till he came 'up to the gate of the burying-place, when 'turning about he smiled upon him, in 'such a manner as filled his soul with the 'most ravishing joy: and on after reflection animated his faith, in believing that 'whatever storms and darkness he might 'meet with in the way, at the hour of 'death his glorious Redeemer would lift 'up upon him the light of his life-giving 'countenance.' My correspondent adds a circumstance, for which he makes some

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apology, as what may seem whimsical, and yet made some impression on himself; 'that there was a remarkable resemblance 'in the field in which this brave man met 'death, and that he had represented to 'him in the dream.' I did not fully understand this at first; but a passage in that letter from Mr Spears, which I have mentioned more than once, has cleared it. 'Now observe, Sir, this seems to be a literal description of the place where this 'Christian hero ended his sorrows and 'conflicts, and from which he entered triumphantly into the joy of his Lord. For 'after he fell in battle, fighting gloriously 'for his king and the cause of his GOD, 'his wounded body, while life was yet 'remaining, was carried from the field of 'battle by the east side of his own inclosure, till he came to the church yard of 'Tranent, and was brought to the minister's house, where he soon after breathed 'out his soul into the hands of his Lord, 'and was conducted to his presence, where 'there is fulness of joy, without any cloud 'or interruption, for ever.'

§ 73. I well know, that in dreams there are divers vanities, and readily acknowledge, that nothing certain could be inferred from this: Yet it seems at least to shew which way the imagination was working even in sleep; and I cannot think

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it unworthy of a wise and good man, sometimes to reflect with complacency on any images which, passing through his mind even in that state, may tend either to express, or to quicken his love to the great Saviour. Those eminently pious divines of the church of England, Bishop Bull and Bishop Kenn, do both intimate it as their opinion, that it may be a part of the service of ministring angels to suggest devout dreams *: And I know that the worthy person of whom I speak was well acquainted with that midnight hymn of the latter of those excellent writers, which has these lines:

'Lord, lest the tempter me surprise,
'Watch over thine own sacrifice!
'All loose, all idle thoughts cast out;
'And make my very dreams devout!'

Nor would it be difficult to produce other

* Bishop Bull has these remarkable words: 'Although I am no doater on dreams, yet I verily believe that some dreams are monitory, above the 'power of fancy, and impressed upon us by some 'superior influence. For of such dreams we have 'plain and undeniable instances in history, both sacred and profane, and in our age and observation. 'Nor shall I so value the laughter of Sceptics, and 'the scoffs of the Epicureans, as to be ashamed to 'profess that I myself have had some convincing experiments of such impressions.' Bish. Bull's serm. and diss. Vol. II. page 489, 490.

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passages much to the same purpose ‡, if it would not be deemed too great a digression from our subject, and too laboured a vindication of a little incident of very small importance, when compared with most of those which make up this narrative.

§ 24. I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here till the year 1726, when, on the 11th day of July, he was married to the Right Honourable the Lady Francis Erskine, daughter to the late Earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father, two sons and three daughters; whom I cannot

‡ If I mistake not, the same Bishop Kenn is the author of a midnight hymn, concluding with these words;

'May my ethereal Guardian kindly spread
'His wings, and from the tempter screen my head;
'Grant of celestial light some piercing beams,
'To bless my sleep, and sanctify my dreams!'

As he certainly was of those exactly parallel lines!

'Oh may my Guardian while I sleep
'Close to my bed his vigils keep;
His love-angelical instil,
Stop all the avenues of ill!
May he celestial joys rehearse,
And thought to thought with me converse!'

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mention without the most fervent prayer to GOD for them, that they may always behave worthy the honour of being descended from such parents; and that the GOD of their father, and of their mother, may make them perpetually the care of his providence, and yet more evidently happy in the constant and abundant influence of his grace!

§ 75. As her Ladyship is still living, (and for the sake of her dear offspring and numerous friends, may she long be spared) I shall not here indulge myself in saying any thing of her, except it be that the Colonel assured me, when he had been happy in this infinite relation to her more than fourteen years, that the greatest imperfection he knew in her character was, 'that she valued and loved him much 'more than he deserved.' And little did he think, in the simplicity of heart with which he spoke this, how high an encomium he was making upon her, and how lasting an honour such a testimony must leave upon her name, long as the memory of it shall continue.

§ 76. As I do not intend in these memoirs a laboured essay on the character of Colonel Gardiner, digested under the various virtues and graces which Christianity requires, (which would, I think, be a little too formal for a work of this kind, and

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would give it such an air of panegyric, as would neither suit my design, nor be at all likely to render it more useful;) I shall now mention what I have either observed in him, or heard concerning him, with regard to these domestic relations which commenced about this time, or quickly after. And here my Reader will easily conclude, that the resolution of Joshua was from the first adopted and declared, As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. It will naturally be supposed, that as soon as he had a house, he erected an altar in it; that the word of GOD was read there, and prayers and praises were constantly offered. These were not to be omitted on account of any guest; for he esteemed it a part of due respect to those that remained under his roof, to take it for granted they would look upon it as a very bad compliment, to imagine they would have been obliged, by neglecting the duties of religion on their account. As his family increased, he had a minister statedly resident in his house, who both discharged the office of a tutor to his children, and of a chaplain; and who was always treated with a becoming kindness and respect. But in his absence, the Colonel himself led the devotions of the family; and they were happy, who had an opportunity of knowing, with how much solemnity, fervour, and propriety, he did it.

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§ 77. He was constant in attendance upon public worship, in which an exemplary care was taken, that the children and servants might accompany the heads of the family. And how he would have resented the non-attendance of any member of it, may easily be conjectured, from a free, but lively passage, in a letter to one of his intimate friends, on an occasion which it is not material to mention: 'Oh, Sir, 'had a child of your's under my roof but 'once neglected the public worship of God, 'when he was able to attend it, I should 'have been ready to conclude he had been 'distracted, and should have thought of 'shaving his head, and confining him in a 'dark room.'

§ 78. He always treated his lady with a manly tenderness, giving her the most natural evidences of a cordial habitual esteem, and expressing a most affectionate sympathy with her, under the infirmities of a very delicate constitution, much broken, at least towards the latter years of their marriage, in consequence of so frequent pregnancy. He had at all times a most faithful care of all her interests, and especially those relating to the state of religion in her mind. His conversation and his letters concurred to cherish those sublime ideas which Christianity suggests, to promote our submission to the will of God,

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to teach us to center our happiness in the great Author of our being, and to live by faith in the invisible world. These, no doubt, were frequently the subjects of mutual discourse: And many letters, which her Ladyship has had the goodness to communicate to me, are most convincing evidences of the degree in which this noble and most friendly care filled his mind in the days of their separation; days, which so entire a mutual affection must have rendered exceeding painful, had they not been supported by such exalted sentiments of piety, and sweetened by daily communion with an ever-present and ever-gracious God.

§ 79. The necessity of being so many months together distant from his family hindered him from many of those condescending labours in cultivating the minds of his children in early life, which, to a soul so benevolent, so wise, and so zealous, would undoubtedly have afforded a very exquisite pleasure. The care of his worthy consort, who well knew that it is one of the brightest parts of a mother's character, and one of the most important views in which the sex can be considered, made him the easier under such a circumstance: But when he was with them, he failed not to instruct and admonish them; and the constant deep sense with which he spoke

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of divine things, and the real unaffected indifference which he always ſhewed for what this vain world is moſt ready to admire, were excellent leſſons of daily wiſdom, which I hope they will recollect with advantage in every future ſcene of life. And I have ſeen ſuch hints in his letters relating to them, as plainly ſhew with how great a weight they lay on his mind, and how highly he deſired above all things that they might be the faithful diſciples of CHRIST; and acquainted betimes with the unequalled pleaſures and bleſſings of religion. He thought an exceſs of delicacy, and of indulgence, one of the moſt dangerous faults in education, by which he every where ſaw great numbers of young people undone: Yet he was ſolicitous to guard againſt a ſeverity which might terrify or diſcourage; and though he endeavoured to take all prudent precautions to prevent the commiſſion of faults, yet, when they had been committed, and there ſeemed to be a ſenſe of them, he was always ready to make the moſt candid allowances for the thoughtfulneſs of unripened years, and tenderly to cheriſh every purpoſe of a more proper conduct for the time to come.

§ 80. It was eaſy to perceive, that the openings of genius in the young branches of his family gave him great delight, and

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that he had a ſecret ambition to ſee them excel in what they undertook. Yet he was greatly cautious over his heart, leſt it ſhould be too fondly attached to them; and as he was one of the moſt eminent proficients I ever knew in the bleſſed ſcience of reſignation to the divine will, ſo there was no effect of that reſignation which appeared to me more admirable than what related to the life of his children. An experience, which no length of time will ever efface out of my memory, has ſo ſenſibly taught me how difficult it is fully to ſupport the Chriſtian character here, that I hope my reader will pardon me (I am ſure at leaſt the hearts of wounded parents will,) if I dwell a little longer upon ſo intereſting a ſubject.

§ 81. When he was in Herefordſhire in the month of July, in the year 1734, it pleaſed GOD to viſit his little family with the ſmall pox. Five days before the date of the letter I am juſt going to mention, he had received the agreeable news that there was a proſpect of the recovery of his ſon, then under that awful viſitation; and he had been expreſſing his thankfulneſs for it in a letter which he had ſent away but a few hours before he was informed of his death; the ſurpriſe of which, in this connection, muſt naturally be very great. But behold (ſays the reverend and worthy per-

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ſon from whom I received the copy, (his truly filial ſubmiſſion to the will of his heavenly Father, in the following lines addreſſed to the dear partner of his affliction:

" Your reſignation to the will of GOD under this diſpenſation gives me more joy " than the death of the child has given me " ſorrow. He to be ſure is happy; and we " ſhall go to him, though he ſhall not return to us. Oh that we had our latter " end always in view!——We ſhall ſoon " follow; and oh what reaſon have we to " long for that glorious day, when we ſhall " get quit of this body of ſin and death, under which we now groan, and which " renders this life ſo wretched! I deſire to " bleſs GOD that——[another of his children] is in ſo good a way: But I have " reſigned her. We muſt not chuſe for " ourſelves; and it is well we muſt not, " for we ſhould often make a very bad " choice. And therefore it is our wiſdom, " as well as our duty, to leave all with a " gracious GOD, who hath promiſed that " all things ſhall work together for good to " thoſe that love him; and he is faithful " that hath promiſed, who will infallibly " perform it, if our unbelief does not ſtand " in the way."

§ 82. The greateſt trial of this kind that he ever bore was in the removal of his ſecond ſon, who was one of the moſt

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amiable and promising children that has been known. The dear little creature was the darling of all that knew him; and promised very fair, so far as a child could be known by its doings, to have been a great ornament to the family, and blessing to the public. The suddenness of the stroke must no doubt render it the more painful; for this beloved child was snatched away by an illness which seized him but about 15 hours before it carried him off. He died in the month of Oct. 1733, at near six years old. Their friends were ready to fear that his affectionate parents would be almost overwhelmed with such a loss: But the happy father had so firm a persuasion, that God had received the dear little one to the felicities of the celestial world; and at the same time had so strong a sense of the divine goodness in taking one of his children, and that too, one who lay so near his heart, so early to himself; that the sorrows of nature were quite swallowed up in the sublime joy which these considerations administered. When he reflected what human life is; how many its snares and temptations are; and how frequently children, who once promised very well, are insensibly corrupted, and at length undone; with Solomon, he blessed the dead already dead more than the living who were yet alive, and felt an unspeakable pleasure in

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looking after the lovely infant, as safely and delightfully lodged in the house of its heavenly Father. Yea, he assured me, that his heart was at this time so entirely taken up with these views, that he was afraid they who did not thoroughly know him might suspect that he was deficient in the natural affections of a parent, while thus borne above the anguish of them by the views which faith administered to him, and which divine grace supported in his soul.

§ 83. So much did he, on one of the most trying occasions of life, manifest of the temper of a glorified saint; and to such happy purposes did he retain those lessons of submission to GOD, and acquiescence in him, which I remember he once inculcated in a letter he wrote to a lady of quality, under the apprehension of a breach in her family, with which providence seemed to threaten her, which I am willing to insert here, though a little out of what might seem its most proper place, rather than entirely to omit it. It is dated from London June 16. 1722, when speaking of the dangerous illness of a dear relative, he has these words, 'When my mind runs hi-'ther,' that is, to GOD, as its refuge and strong defence, (as the connection plainly determines it,) 'I think I can bear any 'thing, the loss of all, the loss of health,

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'of relations, on whom I depend, and 'whom I love, all that is dear to me, 'without repining or murmuring. When I 'think that GOD orders, diſpoſes, and ma-'nages all things, according to the counſel 'of his own will; when I think of the 'extent of his providence, that it reaches 'to the minuteſt things; then, though a 'uſeful friend or dear relative be ſnatch-'ed away by death, I recall myſelf, and 'check my thoughts with theſe conſidera-'tions: Is he not GOD, from everlaſting, 'and to everlaſting? And has he not pro-'miſed to be a GOD to me? A GOD in all 'his attributes, a GOD in all his perſons, 'a GOD in all his creatures, and provi-'dences? And ſhall I dare to ſay, What 'ſhall I do? Was not he the infinite cauſe 'of all I met with in the creatures? And 'were not they the finite effects of his in-'finite love and kindneſs? I have daily ex-'perienced, that the inſtrument was, and 'is, what GOD makes it to be; and I know 'that this GOD hath the hearts of all men 'in his hands, and the earth is the Lord's, 'and the fulneſs thereof. If this earth be 'good for me, I ſhall have it, for my Fa-'ther hath it all in poſſeſſion. If favour 'in the eyes of men be good for me I ſhall 'have it; for the ſpring of every motion in 'the heart of man is in GOD's hand. My 'dear——ſeems now to be dying; but

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'GOD is all-wise, and every thing is done 'by him for the best. Shall I hold back 'any thing that is his own when he re- 'quires it? No, GOD forbid! when I con- 'sider the excellency of his glorious attri- 'butes, I am satisfied with all his dealings.' I perceive by the introduction, and by what follows, that most, if not all of this, is a quotation from something written by a lady; but whether from some manuscript, or a printed book; whether exactly transcribed, or quoted from memory, I cannot determine; and therefore I thought to insert it, as the Major (for that was the office he bore then,) by thus interweaving it with his letter makes it his own; and as it seems to express in a very lively manner the principles which bore him on, to a conduct so truly great and heroic, in circumstances that have overwhelmed many an heart that could have faced danger and death with the greatest intrepidity.

§ 84. I return now to consider his character in the domestic relation of a master, on which I shall not enlarge. It is however proper to remark, that as his habitual meekness, and command of his passions, prevented indecent sallies of ungoverned anger towards those in the lowest state of subjection to him, (by which some in high life do strangely debase themselves, and lose much of their authority,) so the natu-

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ral greatneſs of his mind made him ſolicitous to render their inferior ſtations as eaſy as he could; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he conſidered all the children of Adam as ſtanding upon a level before their great Creator, and had alſo a deeper ſenſe of the dignity and worth of every immortal ſoul, how meanly ſoever it might chance to be lodged, than moſt perſons I have known. This engaged him to give his ſervants frequent religious exhortations and inſtructions, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral who were ſo happy as to live with him under that character. One of the firſt letters, after he entered on his Chriſtian courſe, expreſſes the ſame diſpoſition; in which with great tenderneſs he recommends a ſervant who was in a bad ſtate of health, to his mother's care, as he was well acquainted with her condeſcending temper; mentioning at the ſame time the endeavours he had uſed to promote his preparations for a better world, under an apprehenſion that he would not continue long in this. And we ſhall have an affecting inſtance of the prevalency of the ſame diſpoſition in the cloſing ſcene of his life, and indeed in the laſt words he ever ſpoke, which expreſſed his generous ſolicitude for the ſafety of a faithful ſervant who was then near him.

§ 85. As it was a few years after his marriage that he was promoted to the rank

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of Lieutenant Colonel, in which he continued till he had a regiment of his own, I ſhall for the future ſpeak of him by that title; and may not perhaps find any more proper place, in which to mention, what it is proper for me to ſay of his behaviour and conduct as an officer. I ſhall not here enlarge on his bravery in the field, though that was very remarkable, as I have heard from others: I ſay, from others, for I never heard any thing of that kind from himſelf, nor knew it till after his death, that he was preſent at almoſt every battle that was fought in Flanders, while the illuſtrious Duke of Marlborough commanded the allied army there. I have alſo been aſſured from ſeveral very credible perſons, ſome of whom were eye-witneſſes, that at the ſkirmiſh with the rebels at Preſton in Lancaſhire, (thirty-years before that engagement at the other Preſton, which deprived us of this gallant guardian of his country,) he ſignalized himſelf very particularly: For he headed a little body of men, I think about twelve, and ſet fire to the barricado of the Rebels in the face of their whole army, while they were pouring in their ſhot, by which eight of the twelve that attended him fell. This was the laſt action of the kind in which he was engaged, before the long peace which enſued: And who can expreſs how happy it was for him and

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indeed for his country, of which he was ever so generous, and in his latter years so important a friend, that he did not fall then; when the profaneness which mingled itself with his martial rage seemed to rend the heavens, and shocked some other military gentlemen, who were not themselves remarkable for their caution in this respect.

§ 86. But I insist not on things of this nature, which the true greatness of his soul would hardly ever permit him to mention, unless when it tended to illustrate the divine care over him in these extremities of danger, and the grace of GOD in calling him from so abandoned a state. It is well known, that the character of an officer is not only to be approved in the day of combat. Colonel Gardiner was truly sensible, that every day brought its duties along with it; and he was constantly careful, that no pretence of amusement, friendship, or even devotion itself, might prevent their being discharged in their season.

§ 87. I doubt not but the noble persons, in whose regiment he was Lieutenant-Colonel, will always be ready to bear an honourable and grateful testimony of his exemplary diligence and fidelity in all that related to the care of the troops over which he was set, whether with regard to the men or the horses. He knew,

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that it is incumbent on thoſe who have the honour of preſiding over others, whether in civil, eccleſiaſtical, or military offices, not to content themſelves with doing only ſo much as may preſerve them from the reproach of groſs and viſible neglect, but ſeriouſly to conſider how much they can poſſibly do, without going out of their proper ſphere, to ſerve the public, by the due inſpection of thoſe committed to their care. The duties of the cloſet, and of the ſanctuary, were ſo adjuſted, as not to interfere with thoſe of the parade, or any other place where the welfare of the regiment called him. On the other hand, he was ſolicitous not to ſuffer theſe things to interfere with religion; a due attendance to which he apprehended to be the ſureſt method of attaining all deſirable ſucceſs in every other intereſt and concern in life. He therefore abhorred every thing that ſhould look like a contrivance to keep his ſoldiers employed about their horſes and their arms at the ſeaſons of public worſhip; (an indecency, which I wiſh there were no room to mention:) Far from that, he uſed to have them drawn up juſt before it began, and from the parade they went off to the houſe of GOD. He underſtood the rights of conſcience too well to impoſe his own particular profeſſion in religion on others, or to uſe thoſe who differed from him in

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the choice of its modes, the leſs kindly or reſpectfully on that account. But as moſt of his own Company, and many of the reſt, choſe (when in England,) to attend him to the diſſenting chapel, he uſed to march them thither in due time, ſo as to be there before the worſhip began. And I muſt do them juſtice to ſay, that ſo far as I could ever diſcern, when I have ſeen them in large numbers before me, they have behaved with as much reverence, gravity, and decorum, during the time of divine ſervice, as any of their fellow-worſhippers.

§ 88. That his remarkable care to maintain good diſcipline among them (of which we ſhall afterwards ſpeak,) might be the more effectual, he made himſelf on all proper occaſions acceſſible to them, and expreſſed a great concern for their intereſts, which being ſo genuine and ſincere, naturally diſcovered itſelf in a variety of inſtances. I remember I had once occaſion to viſit one of his dragoons in his laſt illneſs at Harborough, and I found the man on the borders of eternity; a circumſtance, which as he apprehended it himſelf, muſt add ſome peculiar weight and credibility to his diſcourſe. And he then told me, in his Colonel's abſence, that he queſtioned not but he ſhould have everlaſting reaſon to bleſs GOD on Colonel Gar-

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diner's account, for he had been a father to him in all his interests, both temporal and spiritual. He added, that he had visited him almost every day during his illness, with religious advice and instruction, as well as taking care that he should want nothing that might conduce to the recovery of his health. And he did not speak of this as the result of any particular attachment to him, but as the manner in which he was accustomed to treat those under his command. It is no wonder that this engaged their affection to a very great degree. And I doubt not, that if he had fought the fatal battle of Preston Pans at the head of that gallant regiment, of which he had the care for so many years, and which is allowed by most unexceptionable judges to be one of the finest in the British service, and consequently in the world, he had been supported in a much different manner, and had found a much greater number, who would have rejoiced in an opportunity of making their own breasts a barrier in the defence of his.

§ 89. It could not but greatly endear him to his soldiers, that, so far as preferment lay in his power, or were under his influence, they were distributed according to merit: which he knew to be as much the dictate of prudence as of equity. I

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find by one of his letters before me, dated but a few months after his happy change, that he was solicited to improve his interest with the Earl of Stair, in favour of one whom he judged a very worthy person; and that it had been suggested by another who recommended him, that if he succeeded he might expect some handsome acknowledgment. But he answers with some degree of indignation, 'Do 'you imagine I am to be bribed to do jus-'tice?' for such it seems he esteemed it, to confer the favour which was asked from him on one so deserving. Nothing can more effectually tend to humble the enemies of a State, than that such maxims should universally prevail in it: And if they do not prevail, the worthiest men in an army or fleet may be sunk under repeated discouragements, and the basest exalted, to the infamy of the public, and perhaps to its ruin.

§ 90. In the midst of all the gentleness which Colonel Gardiner exercised towards his soldiers, he made it very apparent, that he knew how to reconcile the tenderness of a real, faithful, and condescending friend, with the authority of a commander. Perhaps hardly any thing conduced more generally to the maintaining of this authority than the strict decorum and good manners with which he treated even the pri-

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vate gentlemen of his regiment; which has always a great efficacy towards keeping inferiors at a proper diſtance, and forbids, in the leaſt offenſive manner, familiarities which degrade the ſuperior, and enervate his influence. The calmneſs and ſteadineſs of his behaviour on all occaſions did alſo greatly tend to the ſame purpoſe. He knew how mean a man looks in the tranſports of paſſion, and would not uſe ſo much freedom with many of his men as to fall into ſuch tranſports before them; well knowing, that perſons in the loweſt rank of life are aware how unfit they are to govern others who cannot govern themſelves. He was alſo ſenſible how neceſſary it is in all who preſide over others, and eſpecially in military officers, to check irregularities when they firſt begin to appear: And that he might be able to do it, he kept a ſtrong inſpection over his ſoldiers; in which view it was obſerved, that as he generally choſe to reſide among them as much as he could, (though in circumſtances which ſometimes occaſioned him to deny himſelf in ſome intereſts which were very dear to him,) ſo when they were around him he ſeldom ſtaid long in a place, but was frequently walking the ſtreets, and looking into their quarters and ſtables, as well as reviewing and exerciſing them himſelf. It has often been obſerved, that the

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regiment of which he was so many years Lieutenant Colonel, was one of the most regular and orderly regiments in the public service; so that perhaps none of our dragoons were more welcome than they to the towns where their character was known. Yet no such bodies of men are so blameless in their conduct, but something will be found, especially among such considerable numbers, worthy of censure, and sometimes of punishment. This Colonel Gardiner knew how to inflict with a becoming resolution, and with all the severity which he judged necessary: A severity the more awful and impressing, as it always was attended with meekness; for he well knew, that when things are done in a passion, it seems only an accidental circumstance that they are acts of justice, and that such indecencies greatly obstruct the ends of punishment, both as it relates to reforming offenders, and to deterring others from an imitation of their faults.

§. 91. One instance of his conduct, which happened at Leicester, and was related by the person chiefly concerned, to a worthy friend from whom I had it, I cannot forbear inserting. While part of the regiment was encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, the Colonel went incognito to the camp in the middle of the night; for he sometimes lodged at his quarters in the

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town. One of the centinels then on duty had abandoned his post, and on being seized, broke out into some oaths and profane execrations against those that discovered him, a crime of which the Colonel had the greatest abhorrence, and on which he never failed to animadvert. The man afterwards appeared much ashamed and concerned for what he had done. But the Colonel ordered him to be brought early next morning to his own quarters, where he had prepared a piquet, on which he appointed him a private sort of penance; and while he was put upon it, he discoursed with him seriously and tenderly upon the evils and aggravations of his fault, admonished him of the divine displeasure which he had incurred, and urged him to argue from the pain which he then felt, how infinitely more dreadful it must be to fall into the hands of the living God, and indeed to meet the terrors of that damnation which he had been accustomed impiously to call for on himself and his companions. The result of this proceeding was, that the offender accepted his punishment, not only with submission, but with thankfulness. He went away with a more cordial affection for his Colonel than ever he had before; and spoke of it some years after to my friend in such a manner that there seemed reason to hope it had been instrument-

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al in producing not only a change in his life, but in his heart.

§. 92. There cannot, I think, be a more proper place for mentioning the great reverence this excellent officer always expreſſed for the name of the bleſſed GOD, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to ſuppreſs, and if poſſible to extirpate, that deteſtable ſin of ſwearing and curſing, which is every where ſo common, and eſpecially among our military men. He often declared his ſentiments with reſpect to this enormity, at the head of his regiment; and urged his captains and their ſubalterns to take the greateſt care that they did not give the ſanction of their example to that which by their office they were obliged to puniſh in others. And indeed this zeal on theſe occaſions wrought in a very active, and ſometimes in a very remarkably ſucceſsful manner, not only among his equals, but ſometimes among his ſuperiors too. An inſtance of this in Flanders I ſhall have an opportunity hereafter to produce; at preſent I ſhall only mention his conduct in Scotland a little before his death, as I have it from a very valuable young miniſter of that country, on whoſe teſtimony I can thoroughly depend; and I wiſh it may excite many to imitation.

§. 93. The commanding officer of the king's forces then about Edinburgh, with the other Colonels, and ſeveral other gentle-

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men of rank in their respective regiments, favoured him with their company at Bankton, and took a dinner with him. He too well foresaw what might happen amidst such a variety of tempers and characters; and fearing lest his conscience might have been ensnared by a sinful silence, or that on the other hand he might seem to pass the bounds of decency, and infringe upon the laws of hospitality, by animadverting on guests so justly entitled to his regard, he happily determined on the following method of avoiding each of these difficulties. As soon as they were come together, he addressed them with a great deal of respect, and yet at the same time with a very frank and determined air; and told them, that he had the honour in that district to be a justice of the peace, and consequently that he was sworn to put the laws in execution, and, among the rest, those against swearing: That he could not execute them upon others with any confidence, or by any means approve himself as a man of impartiality and integrity to his own heart, if he suffered them to be broken in his presence by persons of any rank whatsoever; and that therefore he intreated all the gentlemen who then honoured him with their company, that they would please to be upon their guard; and that if any oath or curse should escape them, he hoped they would consider

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his legal animadverſion upon it, as a regard to the duties of his office and the dictates of his conſcience, and not as owing to any want of deference to them. The commanding officer immediately ſupported him in this declaration, as entirely becoming the ſtation in which he was, aſſuring him that he would be ready to pay the penalty, if he inadvertently tranſgreſſed; and when Colonel Gardiner on any occaſion ſtepped out of the room, he himſelf undertook to be the guardian of the law in his abſence; and as one of the inferior officers offended during this time, he informed the Colonel, ſo that the fine was exacted, and given to the poor *, with the univerſal approbation of the company. The ſtory ſpread in the neighbourhood, and was perhaps applauded highly by many, who wanted the courage to go and do likewiſe. But it may be ſaid of the worthy perſon of whom I write, with the utmoſt propriety, that he feared the face of no man living where the honour of GOD was concerned. In all ſuch caſes he

* It is obſervable, that the money, which was forfeited on this account by his own officers, whom he never ſpared, or by any others of his ſoldiers, who rather choſe to pay than to ſubmit to corporal puniſhment, was by the Colonel's order laid by in a bank, till ſome of the private men fell ſick; and then it was laid out in providing them with proper help and accommodations in their diſtreſs.

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might be justly said, in scripture phrase, to set his face like a flint; and I assuredly believe, that had he been in the presence of a Sovereign Prince, who had been guilty of this fault, his looks at least would have testified his grief and surprise, if he had apprehended it unfit to have borne his testimony any other way.

§ 94. Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons, during the years I have mentioned, while he was Lieutenant Colonel of it, was quartered in a great variety of places, both in England and Scotland, from many of which I have letters before me; particularly from Hamilton, Ayr, Carlisle, Hereford, Maidenhead, Leicester, Warwick, Coventry, Stamford, Harborough, Northampton, and several other places, especially in our inland parts. The natural consequence was, that the Colonel, whose character was on many accounts so very remarkable, had a very extensive acquaintance: And I believe I may certainly say, that wherever he was known by persons of wisdom and worth, he was proportionably respected, and left behind him traces of unaffected devotion, humility, benevolence, and zeal, for the support and advancement of religion and virtue.

§ 95. The equitable tenor of his mind in these respects is illustrated by his letters from several of these places; and tho'

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it is but comparatively a small number of them which I have now in my hands, yet they will afford some valuable extracts; which I shall therefore here lay before my Reader, that he may the better judge as to his real character, in particulars of which I have already discoursed, or which may hereafter occur.

§. 96. In a letter to his lady, dated from Carlisle, Nov. 19th. 1733, when he was on his journey to Herefordshire, he breathes out his grateful chearful soul in these words: "I bless GOD I was never better in my "lifetime; and I wish I could be so happy as to hear the same of you; or rather, (in other words,) to hear that you "had obtained an entire trust in GOD. "That would infallibly keep you in perfect "peace; for the GOD of truth hath promised it. Oh, how ought we to be "longing to be with Christ, which is infinitely better than any thing we can "propose here! To be there, where all "complaints shall be for ever banished; "where no mountains shall separate between GOD and our souls: And I hope it will be some addition to our happiness, that you and I shall be separated no more; but that as we have joined in "singing the praises of our glorious Redeemer here, we shall sing them in a "much higher key thro' an endless eter-

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" nity. Oh eternity! eternity! What a " wonderful thought is eternity!"

§ 97. From Leiceſter, Auguſt 6th 1739, he writes thus to his lady: "Yeſterday I " was at the Lord's table, where you and " the children were not forgotten: But " how wonderfully was I aſſiſted, when I " came home to plead for you all with " many tears!" And then, ſpeaking of ſome intimate friends, who were impatient (as I ſuppoſe by the connection,) for his return to them, he takes occaſion to obſerve the neceſſity "of endeavouring to compoſe " our minds, and to ſay with the Pſalmiſt, " My ſoul, wait thou only upon GOD." Afterwards, ſpeaking to one of his children, of whom he heard that he made a commendable progreſs in learning, he expreſſes his ſatisfaction in it, and adds, "But how " much greater joy would it give me to " hear that he was greatly advanced in the " ſchool of Chriſt! O that our children " may be but wiſe to ſalvation: and may " grow in grace as they do in ſtature!"

§ 98. Theſe letters, which to ſo familiar a friend evidently lay open the heart, and ſhew the ideas and affections which were lodged deepeſt there, are ſometimes taken up with an account of ſermons he had attended, and the impreſſion they had made upon his mind. I ſhall mention one only, as a ſpecimen of many more, which was

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dated from a place called Coborn, April 15th. "We had here a minister from Wales, "who gave us two excellent discourses on "the love of Christ to us, as an argument "to engage our love to him. And indeed, "next to the greatness of his love to us, "methinks there is nothing so astonishing "as the coldness of our love to him. Oh "that he would shed abroad his love upon "our hearts by his Holy Spirit, that ours "might be kindled into a flame! May GOD "enable you to trust in him, and then you "will be kept in perfect peace!"

§ 99. We have met with many traces of that habitual gratitude to the blessed GOD, as his heavenly Father and constant friend, which made his life probably one of the happiest that ever was spent on earth. I cannot omit one more, which appears to me the more worthy of notice, as being a short turn in as hasty a letter as any I remember to have seen of his, which he wrote from Leicester in June 1739. "I am now under the deepest sense of the "many favours the Almighty has bestowed upon me: Surely you will help me "to celebrate the praises of our gracious "GOD and kind Benefactor." This exuberance of grateful affection, which, while it was almost every hour pouring itself forth before GOD in the most genuine and emphatical language, felt itself still as it

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were ſtraitened for want of a ſufficient vent, and therefore called on others to help him with their concurrent praiſes, appears to me the moſt glorious and happy ſtate in which a human ſoul can find itſelf on this ſide heaven.

§ 100. Such was the temper which this excellent man appears to have carried along with him through ſuch a variety of places and circumſtances; and the whole of his deportment was ſuitable to theſe impreſſions. Strangers were agreeably ſtruck with his firſt appearance, there was ſo much of the Chriſtian, the well-bred man, and the univerſal friend in it; and as they came more intimately to know him, they diſcovered more and more the uniformity and conſiſtency of his whole temper and behaviour; ſo that whether he made only a viſit for a few days to any place, or continued there for many weeks or months, he was always beloved and eſteemed, and ſpoken of with that honourable teſtimony from perſons of the moſt different denominations and parties, which nothing but true Sterling worth, (if I may be allowed the expreſſion,) and that in an eminent degree, can ſecure.

§ 101. Of the juſtice of this teſtimony, which I had ſo often heard from a variety of perſons, I myſelf began to be a witneſs about the time when the laſt mention-

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ed letter was dated. In this view I believe I shall never forget that happy day, June 13th 1739, when I first met him at Leicester. I remember, I happened that day to preach a lecture from Psalm cxix. 158. "I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved, because they kept not thy law." I was large in describing that mixture of indignation and grief, (strongly impressed by the original word there.) with which the good man looks on the daring transgressors of the divine law; and in tracing the causes of that grief, as arising from a regard to the divine honour, and the interest of a Redeemer; and a compassionate concern for the misery such offenders bring on themselves, and for the mischief they do to the world about them. I little thought how exactly I was drawing Colonel Gardiner's character, under each of those heads; and I have often reflected upon it as a happy providence, which opened a much speedier way than I could have expected, to the breast of one of the most amiable and useful friends which I ever expect to find upon earth. We afterwards sung a hymn, which brought over again some of the leading thoughts in the sermon, and struck him so strongly, that on obtaining a copy of it he committed it to his memory, and used to repeat it with so forcible an accent, as shewed how much every line expressed

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of his very soul. In this view the Reader will pardon my inserting it; especially, as I know not when I may get time to publish a volume of these serious, tho' artless compositures; which I sent him in manuscript some years ago, and to which I have since made very large additions:

I.

Arise, my tend'rest thoughts, arise,
To torrents melt my streaming eyes!
And thou, my heart, with anguish feel
Those evils which thou canst not heal!

II.

See human nature sunk in shame!
See scandals pour'd on Jesus' name!
The Father wounded through the Son!
The world abus'd, the soul undone!

III.

See the short course of vain delight
Closing in everlasting night!
In flames that no abatement know,
The briny tears for ever flow.

IV.

My God, I feel the mournful scene;
My bowels yearn o'er dying men:
And fain my pity would reclaim,
And snatch the fire-brands from the flame.

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V.

But feeble my compaſſion proves,
And can but weep where moſt it loves;
Thine own all ſaving arm employ,
And turn theſe drops of grief to joy!

§ 102. The Colonel, immediately after the concluſion of the ſervice, met me in the veſtry, and embraced me in the moſt obliging and affectionate manner, as if there had been a long friendſhip between us; aſſured me, that he had for ſome years been intimately acquainted with my writings; and deſired that we might concert meaſures for ſpending ſome hours together before I left the town. I was ſo happy, as to be able to ſecure an opportunity of doing it; and I muſt leave it upon record, that I cannot recollect I was ever equally edified by any converſation I remember to have enjoyed. We paſſed that evening and the next morning togather; and it is impoſſible for me to deſcribe the impreſſion which the interview left upon my heart. I rode alone all the remainder of the day; and it was my unſpeakable happineſs that I was alone, ſince I could be no longer with him; for I can hardly conceive what other company would not then have been an incumbrance. The views which he gave me even then, (for he began to repoſe a

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most obliging confidence in me, though he concealed some of the most extraordinary circumstances of the methods by which he had been recovered to GOD and happiness,) with those cordial sentiments of evangelical piety and extensive goodness, which he poured out into my bosom with so endearing a freedom, fired my very soul; and I hope I may truly say, (what I wish and pray many of my readers may also adopt for themselves,) that I glorified GOD in him. Our epistolary correspondence immediately commenced upon my return; and though, through the multiplicity of business on both sides, it suffered many interruptions, it was in some degree the blessing of all the following years of my life, till he fell by those unreasonable and wicked men, who had it in their hearts with him to have destroyed all our glory, defence, and happiness.

§ 103. The first letter I received from him was so remarkable, that some persons of eminent piety, to whom I communicated it, would not be content without copying it out, or making some extracts from it. I persuade myself, that my devout reader will not be displeased that I insert the greatest part of it here; especially as it serves to illustrate the affectionate sense which he had of the divine goodness in his conversion, though more than twenty years

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had passed since that memorable event happened. Having mentioned my ever dear and honoured friend, Dr Isaac Watts, on an occasion which I hinted at above, (§ 79.) he adds, "I have been in pain these several years, left that excellent person, that sweet singer in our Israel, should have been called to heaven before I had an opportunity of letting him know how much his works have been blessed to me, and of course of returning him my hearty thanks: For though it was owing to the operation of the Blessed Spirit that any thing works effectually upon our hearts, yet if we are not thankful to the instrument which God is pleased to make use of, whom we do see, how shall we be thankful to the Almighty whom we have not seen? I desire to bless God for the good news of his recovery, and intreat you to tell him, that altho' I cannot keep pace with him here, in celebrating the high praises of our glorious Redeemer, which is the greatest grief of my heart; yet I am perfuaded, that when I join the glorious company above, where there will be no drawbacks, none will outsing me there; because I shall not find any that will be more indebted to the wonderful riches of divine grace than I.

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" Give me a place at thy saints feet,
" Or some fall'n angel's vacant seat;
" I'll strive to sing as loud as they,
" Who sit above in brighter day.

" I know it is natural for every one " who has felt the almighty power which " raised our glorious Redeemer from the " grave, to belief his case singular: But I " have made every one in this respect sub- " mit as soon as he has heard my story. " And if you seemed so surprised at the " account which I gave you, what will " you be when you hear it all?

" Oh if I had an angel's voice,
" And could be heard from pole to pole,
" I would to all the list'ning world
" Proclaim thy goodness to my soul."

He then concludes, after some expressions of endearment (which, with whatever pleasure I review them, I must not here insert;) " If you knew what a natural aversion I " have to writing, you would be astonish- " ed at the length of this letter, which is, " I believe, the longest I ever wrote. But " my heart warms when I write to you, " which makes my pen move the easier. " I hope it will please our gracious God " long to preserve you, a blessed instru- " ment in his hand of doing great good " in the church of CHRIST; and that you

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" may always enjoy a thriving ſoul in a " healthy body, ſhall be the continual " prayer of, &c."

§ 104. As our intimacy grew, our mutual affection increaſed; and " my deareſt " friend," was the form of addreſs with which moſt of his epiſtles of the laſt year's were begun and ended. Many of them are filled up with his ſentiments of thoſe writings which I publiſhed during theſe years, which he read with great attention, and of which he ſpeaks in terms which it becomes me to ſuppreſs, and to impute in a conſiderable degree to the kind prejudices of ſo endeared a friendſhip. He gives me repeated aſſurances, " That he was daily " mindful of me in his prayers;" a circumſtance which I cannot recollect without the greateſt thankfulneſs; the loſs of which I ſhould more deeply lament, did I not hope that the happy effect of theſe prayers might ſtill continue, and might run into all my remaining days.

§ 105. It might be a pleaſure to me to make ſeveral extracts from many others of his letters: But it is a pleaſure which I ought to ſuppreſs, and rather to reflect with unfeigned humility how unworthy I was of ſuch a regard from ſuch a perſon, and of that divine goodneſs which gave me ſuch a friend in him. I ſhall therefore only add two general remarks, which offer

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themſelves from ſeveral of his letters. The one is, that there is in ſome of them as, our freedom increaſed, an agreeable vein of humour and pleaſantry; which ſhews how eaſy religion ſat upon him, and how far he was from placing any part of it in a gloomy melancholy, or ſtiff formality. The other is, that he frequently refers to domeſtic circumſtances, ſuch as the illneſs or recovery of my children, &c. which I am ſurpriſed how a man of his extenſive and important buſineſs could ſo diſtinctly bear upon his mind. But his memory was good, and his heart was yet better; and his friendſhip was ſuch, that nothing which ſenſibly affected the heart of one whom he honoured with it, left his own but ſlightly touched. I have all imaginable reaſon to believe, that in many inſtances his prayers were not only offered for us in general terms, but varied as our particular ſituation required. Many quotations might verify this; but I decline troubling the reader with an enumeration of paſſages, in which it was only the abundance of friendly ſympathy, that gave this truly great, as well as good man, ſo cordial a concern.

§ 106. After this correſpondence, carried on for the ſpace of about three years, and ſome interviews which we had enjoyed at different places, he came to ſpend

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ſome time with us at Northampton, and brought with him his lady and his two eldeſt children. I had here an opportunity of taking a much nearer view of his character, and ſurveying it in a much greater variety of lights than before; and my eſteem for him increaſed in proportion to theſe opportunities. What I have wrote above, with reſpect to his conduct in relative life, was in a great meaſure drawn from what I now ſay: And I ſhall mention here ſome other points in his behaviour, which particularly ſtruck my mind; and likewiſe ſhall touch on his ſentiments on ſome topics of importance, which he freely communicated to me, and which I remarked on account of that wiſdom and propriety which I apprehend in them.

§ 107. There was nothing more openly obſervable in Colonel Gardiner, than the exemplary gravity, compoſure, and reverence, with which he attended public worſhip. Copious as he was in his ſecret devotions before he engaged in it, he always began them ſo early, as not to be retarded by them, when he ſhould reſort to the houſe of GOD. He, and all his ſoldiers who choſe to worſhip with him, were generally there (as I have already hinted,) before the ſervice began, that the entrance of ſo many of them at once might not diſturb the congregation already engaged in

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devotion, and that there might be the better opportunity for bringing the mind to a becoming attention, and preparing it for converſe with the Divine Being. While acts of worſhip were going on, whether of prayer or ſinging, he always ſtood up; and whatever regard he might have for perſons who paſſed by him at that time, though it were to come into the ſame pew, he never paid any compliment to them: And often has he expreſſed his wonder at the indecorum of breaking off our addreſs to GOD, to bow to a fellow-creature; which he thought a much greater indecency, than it would be, on a little occaſion and circumſtance, to interrupt an addreſs to our prince. During the time of preaching, his eye was commonly fixed upon the miniſter, though ſometimes turned round upon the auditory, where, if he obſerved any to trifle, it filled him with juſt indignation. And I have known inſtances, in which, upon making the remark, he has communicated it to ſome friend of the perſons who were guilty of it, that proper applications might be made to prevent it for the time to come.

§ 108. A more devout communicant at the table of the Lord has perhaps ſeldom been any where known. Often have I had the pleaſure to ſee that manly countenance ſoftened to all the marks of humiliation and contrition on this occaſion; and to diſcern,

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in ſpite of all his efforts to conceal them, ſtreams of tears flowing down from his eyes, while he has been directing them to thoſe memorials of his Redeemer's love. And ſome who have converſed intimately with him after he came from that ordinance, have obſerved a viſible abſtraction from ſurrounding objects; by which there ſeemed reaſon to imagine that his ſoul was wrapped up in holy contemplation. And I particularly remember, that when we had once ſpent great part of the following Monday in riding together, he made an apology to me for being ſo abſent as he ſeemed, by telling me, "that his heart was flown upwards, before he was aware, to Him whom having not ſeen he loved *; and that he was rejoicing in him with ſuch unſpeakable joy, that he could not hold it down to creature-converſe."

§ 109. In all the offices of friendſhip he was remarkably ready, and had a moſt ſweet and engaging manner of performing them, which greatly heightened the obligations he conferred. He ſeemed not to ſet any high value upon any benefit he beſtowed; but did it without the leaſt parade, as a thing which in thoſe circumſtances came of courſe, where he had profeſſed love

* N. B. This alluded to the ſubject of the ſermon the day before, which was 1 Pet. i. 8.

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and reſpect; which he was not over-forward to do, though he treated ſtrangers, and thoſe who were moſt his inferiors, very courteouſly, and always ſeemed, becauſe he in truth always was glad of any opportunity of doing them good.

§ 110. He was particularly zealous in vindicating the reputation of his friends in their abſence: And though I cannot recollect that I had ever an opportunity of obſerving this immediately, as I don't know that I ever was preſent with him when any ill was ſpoken of others at all; yet by what I have heard him ſay, with relation to attempts to injure the character of worthy and uſeful men, I have reaſon to believe, that no man living was more ſenſible of the baſeneſs and infamy, as well as the cruelty, of ſuch a conduct. He knew, and deſpiſed the low principles of reſentment for unreaſonable expectations diſappointed, of perſonl attachment to men of ſome croſſing intereſts of envy, and of party-zeal, from whence ſuch a conduct often proceeds; and was particularly offended, when he found it (as he frequently did,) in perſons that ſet up for the greateſt patrons of liberty, virtue, and candour. He looked upon the murtherers of reputation and uſefulneſs as ſome of the vileſt peſts of ſociety: and plainly ſhewed, on every proper occaſion, that he thought it the part of a generous,

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benevolent, and courageous man, to exert himſelf in tracing and hunting down the ſlander, that the authors or abettors of it might be leſs capable of doing miſchief for the future.

§ 111. The moſt plauſible objection that I ever heard to Colonel Gardiner's character is, that he was too much attached to ſome religious principles, eſtabliſhed indeed in the churches both of England and Scotland, but which have of late years been much diſputed, and from which, it is at leaſt generally ſuppoſed, not a few in both have thought proper to depart; whatever expediments they may have found to quiet their conſciences, in ſubſcribing thoſe formularies, in which they are plainly taught. His zeal was eſpecially apparent in oppoſition to thoſe doctrines which ſeemed to derogate from the divine honours of the Son and Spirit of GOD, and from the freedom of divine grace, or the reality and neceſſity of its operations in the converſation and ſalvation of ſinners.

§ 112. With relation to theſe I muſt obſerve, that it was his moſt ſtedfaſt perſuaſion, that all thoſe notions, which repreſent our bleſſed Redeemer and the Holy Spirit as mere creatures, or which ſet aſide the atonement of the former, or the influence of the latter, do ſap the very foundation of Chriſtianity, by rejecting the

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moſt glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively obſerved (what indeed is too obvious,) the unhappy influence which the denial of theſe principles often has on the character of miniſters, and on their ſucceſs; and was perſuaded, that an attempt to ſubſtitute that mutilated form of Chriſtianity which remains, when theſe eſſentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the moſt ſucceſsful methods which the great enemy of ſouls has ever taken in theſe latter days, to lead men by inſenſible degrees into deiſm, vice, and perdition. He alſo ſagaciouſly obſerved the artful manner in which obnoxious tenets are often maintained or inſinuated, with all that mixture of zeal and addreſs with which they are propagated in the world, even by thoſe who had moſt ſolemnly profeſſed to believe, and engaged to teach the contrary: And, as he really apprehended, that the glory of GOD, and the ſalvation of ſouls was concerned, his piety and charity made him eager and ſtrenuous in oppoſing what he judged to be errors of ſo pernicious a nature. Yet I muſt declare, that, according to what I have known of him, (and I believe he opened his heart on theſe topics to me with as much freedom as to any man living,) he was not ready upon light ſuſpicions to charge tenets which he thought ſo pernicious on any, eſpecially where he

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saw the appearances of a good temper and life, which he always reverenced and loved in persons of all sentiments and professions. He severely condemned causeless jealousies, and evil surmisings of every kind; and extended that charity in this respect, both to clergy and laity, which good Bishop Burnet was so ready, according to his own account, to limit the latter, "of believing "every man good till he knew him to be "bad, and his notions right till he knew "them wrong." He could not but be very sensible of the unhappy consequences which may follow on attacking the characters of men, especially of those who are ministers of the gospel: And if through a mixture of human frailty, from which the best of men in the best of their meanings and intentions are not entirely free, he has ever, in the warmth of his heart, dropped a word which might be injurious to any on that account, (which I believe very seldom happened,) he would gladly retract it on better information; which was perfectly agreeable to that honest and generous frankness of temper in which I never knew any man who exceeded him.

§ 113. On the whole, it was indeed his deliberate judgment that the Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian doctrines were highly dishonourable to GOD, and dangerous to the souls of men; and that it was the duty

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of private Christians, to be greatly on their guard against those ministers by whom they are entertained, lest their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. Yet he sincerely abhorred the thought of persecution for conscience sake; of the absurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name. And indeed the generosity of his heroic heart could hardly bear to think that those glorious truths, which he so cordially loved, and which he assuredly believed to be capable of such fair support, both from reason and the word of GOD, should be disgraced by methods of defence and propagation, common to the most impious and ridiculous falsehoods. Nor did he by any means approve of passionate and furious ways of vindicating the most vital and important doctrines of the gospel: For he knew, that to maintain the most benevolent religion in the world, by such malevolent and infernal methods, was destroying the end to accomplish the means; and that it was as impossible that true Christianity shall be supported thus, as it is that a man should long be nourished by eating his own flesh. To display the genuine fruits of Christianity in a good life, to be ready to plead with meekness and sweetness for the doctrines it teaches, and

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to labour by every office of humanity and goodneſs to gain upon them that oppoſe it, were the weapons with which this good ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt faithfully fought the battles of the Lord. Theſe weapons will always be victorious in his cauſe; and they who have recourſe to others of a different temperature, how ſtrong ſoever they may ſeem, and how ſharp ſoever they may really be, will find they break in their hands when they exert them moſt furiouſly, and are much more likely to wound themſelves than to conquer the enemies they oppoſe.

§ 114. But while I am ſpeaking of Colonel Gardiner's charity in this reſpect, I muſt not omit that of another kind, which has indeed ingroſſed the name of charity much more than it ought, excellent as it is; I mean almſgiving, for which he was very remarkable. I have often wondered how he was able to do ſo many generous things this way: But his frugality fed the ſpring. He made no pleaſurable expence on himſelf, and was contented with a very decent appearance in his family, without affecting ſuch an air of grandeur as could not have been ſupported without ſacrificing to it ſatisfactions far nobler, and to a temper like his far more delightful. The lively and tender feelings of his heart in favour of the diſtreſſed and afflicted, made

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it a self-indulgence to him to relieve them; and the deep conviction he had of the vain and transitory nature of the enjoyments of this world, together with the sublime view he had of another, engaged him to dispense his beauties with a very liberal hand, and even to seek out proper objects of them: And, above all, his sincere and ardent love to the Lord Jesus Christ engaged him to feel, with a true sympathy, the concerns of his poor members. In consequence of this, he honoured several of his friends with commissions for the relief of the poor; and particularly, with relation to some under my pastoral care, he referred it to my discretion to supply them with what I should judge expedient, and frequently pressed me in his letters to be sure not to let them want. And where persons standing in need of his charity happened, as they often did, to be persons of remarkable religious dispositions, it was easy to perceive that he not only loved, but honoured them; and really esteemed it an honour which providence conferred upon him, that he should be made, as it were, the almoner of God for the relief of such.

§ 115. I cannot forbear relating a little story here, which when the Colonel himself heard it, gave him such exquisite pleasure, that I hope it will be acceptable

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to several of my readers. There was in a village about three miles from Northampton, and in a family which of all others near me was afterwards most indebted to him, (though he had never then seen any member of it,) an aged and poor, but eminently good woman, who had with greatly difficulty, in the exercise of much faith and patience, diligence and humility, made shift to educate a large family of children, after the death of her husband, without being chargeable to the parish; which, as it was quite beyond her hope, she often spoke of with great delight. At length, when worn out with age and infirmity, she lay upon her dying bed, she did in a most lively and affecting manner express her hope and joy in the views of approaching glory. Yet amidst all the triumph of such a prospect, there was one remaining care and distress which lay heavy on her mind; which was, that as her journey and her stock of provisions were both ended together, she feared that she must either be buried at the parish expence, or leave her most dutiful and affectionate daughters the house stripped of some of the few moveables which remained in it, to perform the last office of duty to her, which she had reason to believe they would do. While she was combating with this only remaining anxiety, I happened, tho'

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I knew not the extremity of her illneſs, to come in, and to bring with me a guinea; which the generous Colonel had ſent by a ſpecial meſſage, on hearing the character of the family, for its relief. A preſent like this, (probably the moſt conſiderable they had ever received in their lives,) coming in this manner from an entire ſtranger, at ſuch a criſis of time, threw my dying friend (for ſuch, amidſt all her poverty I rejoiced to call her,) into a perfect tranſport of joy. She eſteemed it a ſingular favour of providence, ſent to her in her laſt moments as a token of good, and greeted it as a ſpecial mark of that loving kindneſs of GOD which ſhould attend her for ever. She would therefore be raiſed up in her bed, that ſhe might bleſs GOD for it upon her knees, and with her laſt breath pray for her kind and generous benefactor, and for him who had been the inſtrument of directing his bounty into this channel. After which ſhe ſoon expired, with ſuch tranquillity and ſweetneſs, as could not but moſt ſenſibly delight all who beheld her, and occaſioned many, who knew the circumſtances, to glorify GOD on her behalf.

§ 116. The Colonel's laſt reſidence at Northampton was in June and July 1742, when Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons was quartered here: And I cannot but ob-

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ſerve, that where-ever that regiment came, it was remarkable, not only for the fine appearance it made, and for the exactneſs with which it performed its various exerciſes, (of which it had about this time the honour to receive the moſt illuſtrious teſtimonials,) but alſo for the great ſobriety and regularity of the ſoldiers. Many of the officers copied after the excellent pattern, which they had daily before their eyes; and a conſiderable number of the private men ſeemed to be perſons, not only of ſtrict virtue, but of ſerious piety. And I doubt not but they found their abundant account in it; not only in the ſerenity and happineſs of their own minds, which is beyond compariſon the moſt important conſideration, but alſo, in ſome degree, in the obliging and reſpectful treatment which they generally met with in their quarters. And I mention this, becauſe I am perſuaded, that if gentlemen of their profeſſion knew, and would reflect, how much more comfortable they make their own quarters, by a ſober, orderly, and obliging conduct, they would be regular out of mere ſelf-love; if they were not influenced, as I heartily wiſh they may always be, by a nobler principle.

§ 117. Towards the latter end of this year he embarked for Flanders, and ſpent ſome conſiderable time with the regiment

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at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. But as he had made so eminent a progress in that divine life, which they are all intended to promote, he could not be inactive in the service of GOD. I have now before me a letter dated from thence, October 16th 1742, in which he writes, "As for me, I am indeed in a dry "and barren land, where no water is. "Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, "because nothing is to be heard in our "Sodom, but blaspheming the name of my "GOD; and I am not honoured as the "instrument of doing any great service. "'Tis true, I have reformed six or seven "field-officers of swearing. I dine every "day with them, and have entered them "into a voluntary contract, to pay a shilling "to the poor for every oath; and it is "wonderful to observe the effect it has "had already. One of them told me this "day at dinner, that it had really such an "influence upon him, that being at cards "last night when another officer fell a-"swearing, he was not able to bear it, "but rose up and left the company. So "you see, restraints at first arising from a "low principle may improve into some-"thing better."

§ 118. During his abode here he had

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a great deal of buſineſs upon his hands; and had alſo, in ſome marches, the care of more regiments than his own: And it has been very delightful to me to obſerve, what a degree of converſe with Heaven, and the GOD of it, he maintained, amidſt theſe ſcenes of hurry and fatigue; of which the reader may find a remarkable ſpecimen in the following letter, dated from Lichwick, in the beginning of *April* 1743; which was one of the laſt I received from him while abroad, and begins with theſe words: "Yeſterday being the Lord's day, at ſix in the "morning, I had the pleaſure of receiving "your's at Nortonick; and it proved a Sabbath day's bleſſing to me. Sometime be"fore it reached me," (from whence by the way it may be obſerved, that his former cuſtom of riſing ſo early to his devotions was ſtill retained, "I had been wreſtling with GOD with many tears; and "when I had read it, I returned to my "knees again, to give hearty thanks to "him for all his goodneſs to you and "your's, and alſo to myſelf, in that he hath "been pleaſed to ſtir up ſo many who are "dear to him, to be mindful of me at "the throne of grace." And then, after the mention of ſome other particulars, he adds; "Bleſſed and adored for ever be "the holy name of my heavenly Father, "who holds my ſoul in life, and my body

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" in perfect health! Were I to recount " his mercy and goodneſs to me, even in " the midſt of all theſe hurries, I ſhould " never have done.——I hope your Ma- " ſter will ſtill encourage you in his work, " and make you a bleſſing to many. My " deareſt friend, I am much more your's " than I can expreſs, and ſhall remain ſo " while I am J. G."

§ 119. In this correſpondence I had a farther opportunity of diſcovering that humble reſignation to the will of God, which made ſo amiable a part of his character, and of which before I had ſeen ſo many inſtances. He ſpeaks, in the letter from which I have juſt been giving an extract, of the hope he had expreſſed in former, of ſeeing us again that winter; and he adds, " To be ſure, it would have been " a great pleaſure to me: But we poor " mortals form projects, and the Almighty " Ruler of the univerſe diſpoſes of all as he " he pleaſes. A great many of us were " getting ready for our return to England, " when we received an order to march to- " wards Frankfort, to the great ſurpriſe " of the whole army, neither can any of " us comprehend what we are to do there; " for there is no enemy in that country, " the French army being marched into " Bavaria, where I am ſure we cannot fol- " low them. But it is the will of the

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" *Lord!* and *his will be done!* I desire to " bless and praise my heavenly Father " that I am *entirely resigned* to it. It is " no matter where I go, or what becomes " of me, so that *God may be glorified* in my " life or my death. I should rejoice much " to hear that all my friends were equally " resigned."

§ 120. The mention of this article reminds me of another, relating to the views which he had of obtaining *a regiment* for himself. He endeavoured to deserve it by the most faithful services; some of them indeed beyond what the strength of his constitution would well bear: For the weather in some of these marches proved exceeding bad, and yet he would be always at the head of his people, that he might look to every thing that concerned them with the exactest care. This obliged him to neglect the beginnings of a feverish illness; the natural consequence of which was, that it grew very formidable, forced a long confinement upon him, and gave animal nature a shock which it never recovered.

§ 121. In the mean time, as he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on

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ſome of them the diſappointment ſeemed to ſit heavy. As for the Colonel himſelf, he ſeemed *quite eaſy* about it, and appeared much greater in that eaſy ſituation of mind than the higheſt military honours and preferments could have made him. With great pleaſure do I at this moment recollect the unaffected ſerenity, and even indifference, with which he expreſſes himſelf upon this occaſion, in a *letter* to me, dated about the beginning of April 1743. "The diſappointment of *a regiment* is no- "thing to me; for I am ſatisfied, that had "it been for GOD's glory I ſhould have "had it, and I ſhould have been ſorry to "have had it on any other terms. My "heavenly Father has beſtowed upon me "infinitely more than if he had made me "emperor of the whole world."

§ 122. I find ſeveral parallel expreſſions in other *letters*; and thoſe to *his lady* about the ſame time were juſt in the ſame ſtrain. In an extract from one which was written from Aix la Chapelle April 21ſt the ſame year, I meet with theſe words: "People here imagine I muſt be ſadly "troubled that I have not got *a regiment* "(for ſix out of ſeven vacant are now diſpoſed of;) "but they are ſtrangely "miſtaken, for it has given me no ſort "of trouble: My heavenly Father *knows* "*what is beſt for me*; and bleſſed, and for

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"ever adored be his name, he has given "me an entire reſignation to his will: "Beſides, I don't know that ever I met "with any diſappointment ſince I was a "Chriſtian, but it pleaſed GOD to diſco-"ver to me that it was plainly for my "advantage, by beſtowing ſomething bet-"ter upon me afterwards: Many inſtances "of which I am able to produce; and there-"fore I ſhould be the greateſt of monſters "if I did not truſt in him."

§ 123. I ſhould be guilty of a great o-miſſion, if I were not to add how remark-ably the event correſponded with his faith on this occaſion. For whereas he had no intimation or expectation of any thing more than a regiment of foot, his Majeſty was pleaſed, out of his great goodneſs, to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered juſt in his own neighbour-hood. And it is properly remarked by the reverend and worthy perſon through whoſe hand this letter was tranſmitted to me, that when the Colonel thus expreſſed himſelf, he could have no proſpect of what he after-wards ſo ſoon obtained; as General Bland's regiment, to which he was advanced, was only vacant on the 19th of April, that is, two days before the date of this letter, when it was impoſſible he ſhould have any notice of that vacancy. And it alſo deſerves ob-ſervation, that ſome days after the Colonel

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was thus unexpectedly promoted to the command of these dragoons, Brigadier Cornwallis's regiment of foot, then in Flanders, became vacant. Now had this happened before his promotion to General Bland's, Colonel Gardiner, in all probability, would only have had that regiment of foot, and so have continued in Flanders. When the affair was issued, he informs Lady Francis of it, in a letter dated from a village near Franckfort, May 3d, in which he refers to his former of the 21st of April, observing how remarkably it was verified "in GOD's having given him," (for so he expresses it, agreeably to the views he continually maintained of the universal agency of divine providence,) "what he had no "expectation of, and what was so much "better than that which he had missed, a "regiment of dragoons quartered at his "own door."

§ 224. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he chose to return; and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been any action. Just at this time it pleased GOD to give him an awful instance of the uncertainty of human prospects and enjoyments, by that violent fever, which

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seized him at Ghent in his way to England; and perhaps the more severely, for the effects he made to push on his journey, tho' he had for some days been much indisposed. It was, I think, one of the first fits of severe illness he had ever met with; and he was ready to look upon it as a sudden call into eternity: But it gave him no painful alarm in that view. He committed himself to the GOD of his life, and in a few weeks he was so well recovered as to be capable of pursuing his journey, though not without difficulty: And I cannot but think it might have conduced much to a more perfect recovery than he ever attained, to have allowed himself a longer repose, in order to recruit his exhausted strength and spirits. But there was an activity in his temper not easy to be restrained; and it was now stimulated, not only by a desire of seeing his friends, but of being with his regiment, that he might omit nothing in his power to regulate their morals and their discipline, and to form them for public service. Accordingly he passed through London about the middle of June 1743, where he had the honour of waiting on their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and of receiving from both the most obliging tokens of favour and esteem. He arrived at Northampton on Monday the 20th of June, and

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spent part of three days here. But the great pleasure which his return and preferment gave us was much abated by observing his countenance so sadly altered, and the many marks of languor and remaining disorder which evidently appeared; so that he really looked ten years older than he had done ten months before. I had however a satisfaction sufficient to counterbalance much of the concern which this alteration gave me, in a renewed opportunity of observing, indeed more sensibly than ever, in how remarkable a degree he was dead to the enjoyments and views of this mortal life. When I congratulated him on the favourable appearances of providence for him in the late event, he briefly told me the remarkable circumstances that attended it, with the most genuine impressions of gratitude to God for them; but added, "that as his account was increased with his income, power, and influence, and his cares were proportionably increased too, it was as to his own personal concern much the same to him whether he had remained in his former station or been elevated to this, but that if God should by this means honour him, as an instrument of doing more good than he could otherwise have done, he should rejoice in it."

§ 123. I perceived that the near views

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he had taken of eternity, in the illneſs from which he was then ſo imperfectly recovered, had not in the leaſt alarmed him: but that he would have been entirely willing, had ſuch been the determination of GOD, to have been cut ſhort in a foreign land, without any earthly friend near him, and in the midſt of a journey, undertaken with hopes and proſpects ſo pleaſing to nature; which appeared to me no inconſiderable evidence of the ſtrength of his faith. But we ſhall wonder the leſs at this extraordinary reſignation, if we conſider the joyful and aſſured proſpect which he had of an happineſs infinitely ſuperior beyond the grave; of which that worthy miniſter of the church of Scotland, who had an opportunity of converſing with him quickly after his return; and having the memorable ſtory of his converſion from his own mouth, (as I have hinted above,) writes thus in his letter to me, dated Jan. 14th 1746-7. "When he came to review his regiment at "Linlithgow in ſummer 1743, after having given me the wonderful ſtory as a"bove, he concluded in words to this pur"poſe:——Let me die, whenever it ſhall "pleaſe GOD, or wherever it ſhall be, I "am ſure I ſhall go to the manſions of e"ternal glory, and enjoy my GOD and Re"deemer in heaven for ever."

§ 126. While he was with us at this

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time he appeared deeply affected with the said state of things as to religion and morals; and seemed to apprehend that the rod of God was hanging over so sinful a nation. He observed a great deal of disaffection, which the enemies of the government had, by a variety of artifices been raising in Scotland for some years; and the number of Jacobites there, together with the defenceless state in which our island then was, with respect to the number of its forces at home, (of which he spoke at once with great concern and astonishment,) led him to expect an invasion from France, and an attempt in favour of the Pretender, much sooner than it happened. I have heard him say, many years before it came so near being accomplished, "that a few "thousands might have a fair chance for "marching from Edinburgh to London "uncontrolled, and throw the whole king-"dom into an astonishment." And I have great reason to believe that this was one main consideration which engaged him to make such haste to his regiment, then quartered in those parts; as he imagined there was not a spot of ground where he might be more-like to have a call to expose his life in the service of his country, and perhaps by appearing on a proper call early in its defence, be instrumental in suppressing the beginnings of most formidable rebellion.

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chief. How rightly he judged in these things the event did too evidently shew.

§ 127. The evening before our last separation, as I knew I could not entertain the invaluable friend who was then my guest more agreeably, I preached a sermon in my own house, with some peculiar reference to his case and circumstances, from those ever-memorable words, than which I have never felt any more powerful and more comfortable: "Psalm xci. 14, 15, 16. Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high, because he hath known my name: He shall call upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him: with long life (or length of days) will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation." This scripture could not but lead our meditations to survey the character of the good man, as one who knows the name of the blessed GOD, (has such a deep apprehension of the glories and perfections of his nature,) as determinately to set his love upon him, to make him the supreme object of his most ardent and constant affection. And it suggested the most sublime and animating hopes to persons of such a character; that their prayers shall be always acceptable to GOD; that though they may, and must, be called out to their share in the troubles and

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calamities of life, yet they may aſſure themſelves of the divine preſence in all; which ſhall iſſue in their deliverance, in their exaltation, ſometimes to diſtinguiſhed honour and eſteem among men, and it may be, in a long courſe of uſeful and happy years on earth; at leaſt, which ſhall undoubtedly end in ſeeing, to their perpetual delight, the complete ſalvation of GOD, in a world where they ſhall enjoy length of days for ever and ever, and employ them all in adoring the great Author of their ſalvation and felicity. It is evident, that theſe natural thoughts on ſuch a ſcripture were matters of univerſal concern. Yet had I known that this was the laſt time I ſhould ever addreſs Colonel Gardiner, as a miniſter of the goſpel, and had I foreſeen the ſcenes thro' which GOD was about to lead him, I hardly know what conſiderations I could have ſuggeſted with more peculiar propriety. The attention, elevation, and delight, with which he heard them, was very apparent; and the pleaſure with which the obſervation of it gave me continues to this moment. And let me be permitted to digreſs ſo far as to add, that this is indeed the great ſupport of a Chriſtian miniſter, under the many diſcouragements and diſappointments which he meets with, in his attempts to fix upon the profligate or the

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thoughtleſs part of mankind a deep ſenſe of religious truth; that there is another important part of his work, in which he may hope to be more generally ſucceſsful; as by plain, artleſs, but ſerious diſcourſes, the great principles of Chriſtian duty and hope may be nouriſhed and invigorated in good men, their graces watered as at the root, and their ſouls animated both to perſevere and improve in holineſs. And when we are effectually performing ſuch benevolent offices, ſo well ſuiting our immortal natures, to perſons whoſe hearts are cemented with ours in the bonds of the moſt endearing and ſacred friendſhip, it is too little to ſay it over-pays the fatigue of our labours; it even ſwallows up all ſenſe of it in the moſt rational and ſublime pleaſure.

§ 128. An incident occurs to my mind, which happened that evening, which at leaſt for the oddneſs of it may deſerve a place in theſe memoirs. I had then with me one Thomas Porter, a poor but very honeſt and religious man, (now living at Hatfield Broadoak in Eſſex.) who is quite unacquainted with letters, ſo as not to be able to diſtinguiſh one from another, yet is maſter of the contents of the Bible in ſo extraordinary a degree, that he has not only fixed an immenſe number of texts in his memory, but merely by hearing them quoted in ſermons, has regiſtered there the

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chapter and verſe in which theſe paſſages are to be found: This is attended with a marvellous facility in directing thoſe that can read to turn to them, and a moſt unaccountable talent of fixing on ſuch as ſuit almoſt every imaginable variety of circumſtances in common life. There are two conſiderations in this caſe, which make it the more wonderful: The one, that he is a perſon of a very low genius, having, beſides a ſtammering which makes his ſpeech almoſt unintelligible to ſtrangers, ſo wild and aukward a manner of behaviour, that he is frequently taken for an idiot, and ſeems in many things to be indeed ſo: The other, that he grew up to manhood in a very licentious courſe of living, and an entire ignorance of divine things, ſo that all theſe exact impreſſions on his memory have been made in his riper years. I thought it would not be diſagreeable to the Colonel to introduce to him this odd phænomenon, which many hundreds of people have had a curioſity to examine: And among all the ſtrange things I have ſeen in him, I never remember any which equalled what paſſed on this occaſion. On hearing the Colonel's profeſſion, and receiving ſome hints of his religious character, he ran through a vaſt variety of ſcriptures, beginning at the Pentateuch, and going on to the Revelation, relating either to the depend-

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ance to be fixed on GOD for the ſucceſs of military preparations, or to the inſtances and promiſes occurring there of his care of good men in the moſt imminent dangers, or to the encouragement to deſpiſe perils and death while engaged in a good cauſe, and ſupported by the views of a happy immortality. I believe he quoted more than twenty of theſe paſſages; and I muſt freely own, that I know not who could have choſe them with greater propriety. If my memory do not deceive me, the laſt of this catalogue was that from which I afterwards preached on the lamentable occaſion of this great man's fall: *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* We were all aſtoniſhed at ſo remarkable a fact; and I queſtion not but that many of my readers will think the memory of it worthy of being thus preſerved.

§ 219. But to return to my main ſubject: The next day after the ſermon and converſation of which I have been ſpeaking, I took my laſt leave of my ineſtimable friend, after attending him ſome part of his way Northward. The firſt ſtage of our journey was to the cottage of that poor, but very religious family, which I had occaſion to mention above, as relieved, and indeed in a great meaſure ſubſiſted, by his charity. And nothing could be more delightful than to obſerve the condeſcenſion

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with which he converſed with theſe his humble penſioners. We there put up our laſt united prayers together; and he afterwards expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms I ever heard him uſe on ſuch an occaſion, the ſingular pleaſure with which he had joined in them. Indeed it was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me to have an opportunity of recommending ſuch a valuable friend to the protection and bleſſing, with that particular freedom and enlargement on what was peculiar in his circumſtances, which hardly any other ſituation, unleſs we had been quite alone, could ſo conveniently have admitted. We went from thence to the table of a perſon of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, where he had an opportunity of ſhewing, in how decent and graceful a manner he could unite the Chriſtian and the Gentleman, and give converſation an improving and religious turn, without violating any of the rules of polite behaviour, or ſaying or doing any thing which looked at all conſtrained or affected. Here we took our laſt embrace, committed each other to the care of the GOD of heaven; and the Colonel purſued his journey to the North, where he ſpent all the remainder of his days.

§ 130. The more I reflect upon this appointment of Providence, the more I diſcern of the beauty and wiſdom of it; no

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only as it led directly to that glorious period of life with which GOD had determined to honour him, and in which I think it becomes all his friends to rejoice; but also as the retirement on which he entered could not but have a happy tendency to favour his more immediate and complete preparation for so speedy a remove. To which we may add, that it must probably have a very powerful influence to promote the interests of religion (incomparably the greatest of all interests,) among the members of his own family; who must surely edify much by such daily lessons as they received from his lips, when they saw them illustrated and enforced by so admirable an example, and this for two complete years. It is the more remarkable, as I cannot find from the memoirs of his life in my hands that he had ever been so long at home since he had a family, or indeed from his childhood, ever so long at a time in any one place.

§ 131. With how clear a lustre his lamp shone, and with what holy vigour his loins were girded up in the service of his GOD, in these his latter days, I learn in part from the letters of several excellent persons in the ministry, or in secular life, with whom I have since conversed or corresponded. And his many letters, dated from Bankton during this period, I have still farther evidence how happy he was amidst those

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infirmities of body, which his tenderneſs for me would ſeldom allow him to mention; for it appears from them what a daily intercourſe he kept up with heaven, and what delightful communion with GOD crowned his attendance on public ordinances, and his ſweet hours of devout retirement. He mentions his ſacramental opportunities with peculiar reliſh, crying out as in a holy rapture, in reference to one and another of them, "Oh how gracious a "Maſter do we ſerve! how pleaſant is his "ſervice! how rich the entertainments of "his love! yet oh how poor and cold are "our ſervices!"—But I will not multiply quotations of this ſort after thoſe I have given above, which may be a ſufficient ſpecimen of many more in the ſame ſtrain. This hint may ſuffice to ſhew that the ſame ardour of ſoul held out in a great meaſure to the laſt; and indeed it ſeems, that towards the cloſe of life, like the flame of a lamp almoſt expiring, it ſometimes exerted an unuſual blaze.

§. 132. He ſpent much of his time at Bankton in religious ſolitude; and one moſt intimately converſant with him aſſures me, that the traces of that delightful converſe with GOD which he enjoyed in it might eaſily be diſcerned in that ſolemn yet chearful countenance with which he often came out of his cloſet. Yet his exerciſes there muſt ſometimes have been very mournful

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conſidering the melancholy views which he had of the ſtate of our public affairs. "I "ſhould be glad," ſays he (in a letter which he ſent me about the cloſe of the year 1743,) "to hear what wiſe and good people "among you think of the preſent circum-"ſtances of things. For my own part, "though I thank GOD I fear nothing for "myſelf, my apprehenſions for the public "are very gloomy, conſidering the deplo-"rable prevalency of almoſt all kinds of "wickedneſs amongſt us; the natural con-"ſequence of the contempt of the goſpel. "I am daily offering up my praiſe to GOD "for this ſinful land of ours over which "his judgment ſeems to be gathering; and "my ſtrength is ſometimes ſo exhauſted "with thoſe ſtrong cries and tears, which "I pour out before GOD on this occaſion, "that I am hardly able to ſtand when I "ariſe from my knees." If we have many remaining to ſtand in the breach with equal fervency, I hope, crying as our provocations are, GOD will ſtill be intreated for us, and ſave us.

§ 133. Moſt of the other letters I had the pleaſure of receiving from him after our laſt ſeparation, are either filled, like thoſe of former years, with tender expreſſions of affectionate ſolitude for my domeſtic comfort and public uſefulneſs, or relate to the writings I publiſhed during this time,

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or to the affairs of his eldeſt ſon then under my care. But theſe are things which are by no means of a nature to be communicated here. It is enough to remark in the general, that the Chriſtian was ſtill mingled with all the care of the friend and the parent.

§ 134. But I think it incumbent upon me to obſerve, that during this time, and for ſome preceding years, his attention, ever wakeful to ſuch concerns, was much engaged by ſome religious appearances, which happened about this time, both in England and Scotland; of which ſome may be curious to know his ſentiments. He communicated them to me with the moſt unreſerved freedom; and I cannot apprehend myſelf under any engagements to conceal them, as I am perſuaded that it will be no prejudice to his memory that they ſhould be publicly known.

§ 135. It was from Colonel Gardiner's pen that I received the firſt notice of that ever-memorable ſcene which was opened at Kilſyth, under the miniſtry of the reverend Mr Mac-Culloch, in the month of February 1741-2. He communicated to me the copy of two letters from that eminently-favoured ſervant of GOD, giving an account of that extraordinary ſucceſs which had within a few days accompanied his preaching; when, as I remember, in a lit-

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tle more than a fortnight, a hundred and thirty ſouls, who had before continued in long inſenſibility, under the faithful preaching of the goſpel, were awakened on a ſudden to attend to it, as if it had been a new revelation brought down from heaven, and atteſted by as aſtoniſhing miracles as ever were wrought by Peter or Paul, tho' they heard it only from a perſon under whoſe miniſtry they had ſat for ſeveral years. Struck with a power and majeſty in the word of GOD, which they had never felt before, they crouded his houſe night and day, making their applications to him for ſpiritual direction and aſſiſtance, with an earneſtneſs and ſolicitude, which floods of tears and cries, that ſwallowed up their own words and his, could not ſufficiently expreſs. The Colonel mentioned this at firſt to me, "as matter of eternal praiſe, "which he knew would rejoice my very "ſoul:" And when he ſaw it ſpread in the neighbouring parts, and obſerved the glorious reformation which it produced in the lives of great multitudes, and the abiding fruits of it for ſucceeding months and years, it increaſed and confirmed his joys. But the facts relating to this matter have been laid before the world in ſo authentic a manner, and the agency of divine grace in them has been ſo rationally vindicated, and ſo pathetically repreſented, in what the

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reverend and judicious Mr Webster has written upon that subject, that it is altogether superfluous for me to add any thing farther than my hearty prayers, that the work may be as extensive as it was apparently glorious and divine.

§ 136. It was with great pleasure that he received any intelligence of a like kind from England; whether the clergy of the established church or dissenting ministers, whether our own countrymen or foreigners, were the instruments of it. And whatever weaknesses or errors might mingle themselves with valuable qualities in such as were active in such a work, he appeared to love and honour them in proportion to the degree he saw reason to believe their hearts were devoted to the service of CHRIST, and their attempts owned and succeeded by him. I remember, that mentioning one of these gentlemen who had been remarkably successful in his ministry, and seemed to have met with some very unkind usage, he says, "I had rather be that despised persecuted man, to be an instrument in the hand of the Spirit, in converting so many souls, and building up so many in their holy faith, than I would be emperor of the whole world." Yet this steady and judicious Christian, (for such he most assuredly was,) at the same time that he esteemed a man for his good intention and

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his worthy qualities, did not suffer himself to be hurried away into all the singularity of his sentiments, or to admire his imprudences or excesses. On the contrary, he saw and lamented that artifice which the great father of fraud has so long and so successfully been practising, who, like the enemies of Israel, when he cannot entirely prevent the building of GOD's temple, does as it were offer his assistance to carry on the work, that he may thereby get the most effectual opportunities of obstructing it. The Colonel often expressed his astonishment at the wide extremes into which some, whom on the whole he thought very worthy men, were permitted to run in many doctrinal and speculative points, and discerned how evidently it appeared from hence, that we cannot argue the truth of any doctrine from the success of the preacher, since this would be a kind of demonstration, (if I may be allowed the expression) which might equally prove both parts of a contradiction. Yet when he observed that an high regard to the atonement and righteousness of CHRIST, and to the free grace of GOD in him, exerted by the operation of the divine SPIRIT, was generally common to all who had been peculiarly successful in the conversion and reformation of men, (how widely soever their judgments might differ in other points,

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and how warmly soever they might oppose each other in consequence of that diversity;) it tended greatly to confirm his faith in these principles, as well as to open his heart in love to all of every denomination, who maintained an affectionate regard to them. And tho' what he remarked as to the conduct and success of ministers of the most opposite strains of preaching, confirmed him in these sentiments, yet he always esteemed and loved virtuous and benevolent men, even where he thought them most mistaken in the notions they formed of religion, or in the methods by which they attempted to serve it.

§ 137. While I thus represent what all who knew him must soon have observed of Colonel Gardiner's affectionate regard to these peculiar doctrines of our holy religion, it is necessary that I should also inform my reader, that it was not his judgment that the attention of ministers or their hearers should be wholly ingrossed by these, excellent as they are; but that all the parts of the scheme of truth and duty should be regarded in their due connection and proportion. Far from that distempered taste, which can bear nothing but cordials, it was his deliberate judgment that the law should be preached, as well as the gospel; and hardly any thing gave him greater offence than the irreverent man-

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ner in which ſome, who have been ignorantly extolled as the moſt zealous evangelical preachers, have ſometimes been tempted to ſpeak of the former; much indeed to the ſcandal of all conſiſtent and judicious Chriſtians. He delighted to be inſtructed in his duty, and to hear much of the inward exerciſes of the ſpiritual and divine life. And he always wiſhed, ſo far as I could obſerve, to have theſe topics treated in a rational as well as a ſpiritual manner, with ſolidity and order of thought, with perſpicuity and weight of expreſſion; as well knowing that religion is a moſt reaſonable ſervice; that GOD has not choſen idiots or lunatics as the inſtruments, or nonſenſe as the means of building up his church; and that though the charge of enthuſiaſm is often fixed on Chriſtianity and its miniſters, in a wild, undeſerved, and indeed (on the whole) enthuſiaſtical manner, by ſome of the loudeſt or moſt ſolemn pretenders to reaſon; yet there is really ſuch a thing as enthuſiaſm, againſt which it becomes the true friends of the revelation to be diligently on their guard, leaſt Chriſtianity, inſtead of being exalted, ſhould be greatly corrupted and debaſed, and all manner of abſurdity, both in doctrine and practice, introduced by methods, which (like perſecution) throw truth and falſehood on a level, and render the groſſeſt errors, at

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once more plauſible and more incurable. He had too much candour and equity to fix general charges of this nature; but he was really (and I think, not vainly) apprehenſive, that the emiſſaries and agents of the moſt corrupt church that ever diſhonoured the Chriſtian name, (by which it will eaſily be underſtood I mean that of Rome,) might very poſſibly inſinuate themſelves into ſocieties, to which they could not otherwiſe have acceſs, and make their advantage of that reſignation of the underſtanding, and contempt of reaſon and learning, which nothing but ignorance, delirium, or knavery can dictate, to lead men blindfold whether it pleaſed, till it ſet them down at the foot of an altar, where tranſubſtantiation itſelf is conſecrated.

§ 138. I know not where I can more properly introduce another part of the Colonel's character, which, obnoxious as it was, I have not yet touched upon; I mean, his tenderneſs to thoſe who were under any ſpiritual diſtreſs; wherein he was indeed an example to miniſters in a duty more peculiarly theirs. I have ſeen many amiable inſtances of this myſelf; and I have been informed of many others: One of which happened about the time of that awakening in the weſtern parts of Scotland, which I touched upon above; when

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the reverend Mr Maclaurin of Glaſgow found occaſion to witneſs to the great propriety, judgment, and felicity of manner, with which he addreſſed ſpiritual conſolation to an afflicted ſoul, who applied to the profeſſor, at a time when he had not an opportunity immediately to give audience to the caſe. And indeed, as long ago as the year 1726, I find him writing to a friend in a ſtrain of tenderneſs in this regard, which might well have become the moſt affectionate and experienced paſtor. He there congratulates him on ſome religious enjoyments lately received, (in part, it ſeems, by his means,) when among others he has this modeſt expreſſion: "If "I have been made any way the means "of doing you good, give the whole glory "to GOD; for he has been willing to ſhew "that the power was entirely of himſelf, "ſince he has been pleaſed to make uſe of "ſo very weak an inſtrument." In the ſame letter he admoniſhes his friend, that he ſhould not be too much ſurpriſed, if after having been (as he expreſſes it,) upon the mount, he ſhould be brought into the valley again; and reminds him, that "we live by faith, and not by ſenſible aſ-"ſurance;" repreſenting, that there are ſome ſuch full communications from GOD as ſeem almoſt to ſwallow up the actings of faith, from whence they take their riſe:

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" Whereas, when a Chriſtian who walks " in darkneſs, and ſees no light, will yet " hang (as it were) on the report of an " abſent JESUS, and," as one expreſſes it in alluſion to the ſtory of Jacob and Joſeph, " can put himſelf as on the cha- " riot of the promiſes, to be borne on to " Him, whom now he ſees not; there may " be ſublimer and more acceptable actings " of a pure and ſtrong faith, than in mo- " ments which afford the ſoul a much more " rapturous delight." This is the ſubſtance of what he ſays in the excellent letter. Some of the phraſes made uſe of might not perhaps be intelligible to ſeveral of my readers, for which reaſon I do not exactly tranſcribe them all: But this is plainly and fully his meaning, and moſt of the words are his own. The ſentiment is ſurely very juſt and important; and happy would it be for many excellent perſons, who, through wrong notions of the nature of faith, (which was never more miſrepreſented than now among ſome,) are perplexing themſelves with moſt groundleſs doubts and ſcruples, if it were more generally underſtood, admitted, and conſidered.

§ 139. An endeared friend, who was moſt intimately converſant with the Colonel during the laſt two years of his life, has favoured me with an account of ſome little circumſtances relating to him, which,

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I esteem as precious fragments, by which the consistent tenor of his character may be farther illustrated. I shall therefore insert them here, without being very solicitous as to the order in which they are introduced.

§ 140. He perceived himself evidently in a very declining state from his first arrival in Britain, and seemed to entertain a fixed apprehension, that he should continue but a little while longer in life. "He expected death," says my good correspondent, "and was delighted with the "prospect," which did not grow less amiable by a nearer approach. The word of GOD, with which he had as intimate an acquaintance as most men I ever knew, and on which (especially on the New Testament,) I have heard him make many very judicious and accurate remarks, was still his daily study; and it furnished him with matter of frequent conversation, much to the edification and comfort of those that were about him. It was recollected, that among other passages he had lately spoken of the following, as having made a deep impression on his mind! My soul, wait thou only upon GOD! He would repeat it again and again, Only, Only, Only! So plainly did he see, and so deeply did he feel, the vanity of creature-confidences and expectations. With the strongest attestation

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II.

On him the Spirit, largely pour'd,
Exerts its ſacred fire;
Wiſdom, and might, and zeal, and love,
His holy breaſt inſpire.

III.

He comes, the priſ'ners to releaſe
In Satan's bondage held:
The gates of braſs before him burſt,
The iron fetters yield.

IV.

He comes from thickeſt films of vice
To clear the mental ray,
And on the eye-balls of the blind
To pour celeſtial day *.

V

He comes, the broken heart to bind,
The bleeding ſoul to cure;
And with the treaſures of his grace
T' enrich the humble poor.

VI.

His ſilver trumpets publiſh loud
The Jubilee of the Lord;
Our debts are all remitted now,
Our heritage reſtor'd.

VII.

Our glad hoſannahs, Prince of Peace!
Thy welcome ſhall proclaim;

* This ſtanza is moſtly borrowed from Mr Pope.

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And heav'n's eternal arches ring
With thy beloved name.

§ 142. There is one hymn more I shall beg leave to add, plain as it is, which Colonel Gardiner has been heard to mention with particular regard, as expressing the inmost sentiments of his soul; and they were undoubtedly so in the last rational moments of his expiring life. It is called, CHRIST precious to the believer; and was composed to be sung after a sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 7.

I.

JESUS! I love thy charming name,
'Tis music to my ear:
Fain would I sound it out so loud
That earth and heav'n should hear.

II.

Yes, thou art precious to my soul,
My transport and my trust:
Jewels to thee are gaudy toys,
And gold is sordid dust.

III.

All my capacious pow'rs can wish,
In thee most richly meet:
Nor to my eyes is life so dear,
Nor friendship half so sweet.

IV.

Thy grace still dwells upon my heart,
And sheds its fragrance there!

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The nobleſt balm of all its wounds,
The cordial of its care.

V.

I'll ſpeak the honours of thy name
With my laſt lab'ring breath;
Then ſpeechleſs claſp thee in my arms,
The antidote of death.

§ 143. Thoſe who were intimate with Colonel Gardiner muſt have obſerved how ready he was to give a devotional turn to any ſubject that occurred. And in particular, the ſpiritual and heavenly diſpoſition of his ſoul diſcovered itſelf in the reflections and improvements which he made when reading hiſtory; in which he took a great deal of pleaſure, as perſons remarkable for their knowledge of mankind, and obſervation of providence, generally do. I have an inſtance of this before me, which, tho' too natural to be at all ſurpriſing, will I dare ſay be pleaſing to the devout mind. He had been juſt reading in Rollin's extract from Xenophon, the anſwer which the lady of Tigranes made, when all the company were extolling Cyrus, and expreſſing the admiration with which his appearance and behaviour ſtruck them: The queſtion being aſked her, what ſhe thought of him, ſhe anſwered, "I don't know, I did not obſerve him." On what then, ſaid one of the

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company, did you fix your attention? On him, replied she, (referring to the generous speech which her husband had just made,) who said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty. "Oh," cried the Colonel, when reading it, "how ought we "to fix our eyes and hearts on Him, who, "not in offer, but in reality, gave his own "precious life to ransom us from the most "dreadful slavery, and from eternal de-"struction!" But this is only one instance among a thousand. His heart was so habitually set upon divine things, and he had such a permanent and overflowing sense of the love of CHRIST, that he could not forbear connecting such reflections, with a multitude of more distant occasions occurring in daily life, where less advanced Christians would not have thought of them: And thus, like our Great Master, he made every little incident a source of devotion, and an instrument of holy zeal.

§ 144. Enfeebled as his constitution was, he was still intent on improving his time to some valuable purposes: And when his friends expostulated with him, that he gave his body so little rest, he used to answer, "It will rest long enough in the grave."

§ 145. The July before his death, he was persuaded to take a journey to Scarborough for the recovery of his health; from which he was at least encouraged to expect

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ſome little revival. After this he had thoughts of going to London, and deſigned to have ſpent part of September at Northampton. The expectation of this was mutually agreeable; but Providence ſaw fit to diſconcert the ſcheme. His love for his friends in theſe parts occaſioned him to expreſs ſome regret on his being commanded back; and I am pretty confident, from the manner in which he expreſſed himſelf in one of his laſt letters to me, that he had ſome more important reaſons for wiſhing an opportunity of making a London journey juſt at that criſis, which the reader will remember was before the rebellion broke out: But as Providence determined it otherwiſe, he acquieſced; and I am well ſatisfied, that could he diſtinctly have foreſeen the approaching event, ſo far as it concerned his own perſon, he would have eſteemed it the happieſt ſummons he ever received. While he was at Scarborough, I find by a letter dated from thence, July 26th 1745, that he had been informed of the gaity which ſo unſeaſonably prevailed at Edinburgh, where great multitudes were then ſpending their time in balls, aſſemblies, and other gay amuſements, little mindful of the rod of GOD which was then hanging over them; on which occaſion he hath this expreſſion: "I am greatly ſurpriſed "that the people of Edinburgh ſhould be

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"employed in ſuch fooliſh diverſions when "our ſituation is at preſent more melan- "choly than ever I ſaw it in my life. But "there is one thing which I am very ſure "of, that comforts me, viz. that it ſhall "go well with the righteous, come what "will."

§ 146. Quickly after his return home, the flame burſt out, and his regiment was ordered to Stirling. It was in the caſtle there that his lady and eldeſt daughter enjoyed the laſt happy hours of his company; and I think it was about eight or ten days before his death that he parted from them there. A remarkable circumſtance attended that parting, which hath been touched upon by ſurviving friends in more than one of their letters to me. His Lady was ſo affected when ſhe took her laſt leave of him, that ſhe could not forbear burſting out into a flood of tears, with other marks of unuſal emotion. And when he aſked her the reaſon, ſhe urged the apprehenſion ſhe had of loſing ſuch an invaluable friend, amidſt the dangers to which he was then called out, as a very ſufficient apology. Upon which ſhe took particular notice, that whereas he had generally comforted her on ſuch occaſions, by pleading with her that remarkable hand of Providence which had ſo frequently in former inſtances been exerted for his pre-

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ſervation, and that in the greateſt extremity, he ſaid nothing of it now, but only replied, in his ſententious manner, "We have an "eternity to ſpend together."

§ 147. That heroic contempt of death, which had often diſcovered itſelf in the midſt of former dangers, was manifeſted now in his diſcourſe with ſeveral of his moſt intimate friends. I have reſerved for this place one genuine expreſſion of it many years before, which I thought might be mentioned with ſome advantage here. In July 1725, he had been ſent to ſome place, not far from Hamilton, to quell a mutiny among ſome of our troops. I know not the particular occaſion; but I remember to have heard him mention it as ſo fierce a one, that he ſcarce ever apprehended himſelf in a more hazardous circumſtance. Yet he quelled it by his preſence alone, and the expoſtulations he uſed, evidently putting his life into his hand to do it. The particulars of the ſtory ſtruck me much; but I do not ſo exactly remember them, as to venture to relate them here. I only obſerve, that in a letter dated July 16th that year, which I have now before me, and which evidently refers to this event, he writes thus: "I have been very buſy, "hurried about from place to place; but, "bleſſed be GOD, all is over without "bloodſhed. And pray let me aſk, What

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" made you ſhew ſo much concern for " me in your laſt! Were you afraid I " ſhould get to heaven before you? Or " can any evil befal thoſe who are follow- " ers of that which is good *?"

§ 148. And theſe were his ſentiments in the vigour of his days, ſo neither did declining years and the infirmities of a bro- ken conſtitution on the one hand, nor any deſires of enjoying the honours and profits of ſo high a ſtation, or (what was much more to him,) the converſe of the moſt affectionate of wives, and ſo many amiable children and friends on the other, enervate his ſpirits in the leaſt: But as he had in for- mer years often expreſſed it to me and ſeveral others, as his deſire, " That if it

* I doubt not but this will remind ſome of my readers of that noble ſpeech of Zuinglius, when (according to the uſage of that country,) attending his flock to a battle, in which their religion and li- berties were all at ſtake, on his receiving a mortal wound by a bullet, of which he ſoon expired. While his friends were in all the firſt aſtoniſhment of grief, he bravely ſaid, as he was dying, " Ecquid " hoc infortunii? Is this to be reckoned a miſfor- " tune?" How many of our Deiſts would have celebrated ſuch a ſentence, if it had come from the lips of an ancient Roman? Strange, that the name of CHRIST ſhould be ſo odious, that the brighteſt virtues of his followers ſhould be deſpiſed for his ſake! but ſo it is, and ſo our Maſter told us it would be: And our faith is in this connection con- firmed by thoſe that ſtrive moſt to overthrow it.

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" were the will of GOD, he might have " ſome honourable call to ſacrifice his life " in defence of religion and the liberties " of his country;" ſo when it appeared to him moſt probable that he might be called to it immediately, he met the ſummons with the greateſt readineſs. This appears in part from a letter which he wrote to the Reverend Mr Adams of Falkirk, juſt as he was on marching from Stirling, which was only eight days before his death: " The rebels," ſays he, " are " advancing to croſs the Firth; but I " truſt in the Almighty GOD, who doth " whatſoever he pleaſes in the armies of " heaven, and among the inhabitants of " the earth." And the ſame gentleman tells me, that a few days after the date of this, he marched through Falkirk with his regiment; and though he was then in ſo languiſhing a ſtate, that he needed his aſſiſtance as a ſecretary to write for ſome reinforcement, which might put it in his power to make a ſtand, (as he was very deſirous to have done,) he expreſſed a moſt genuine and noble contempt of life, when to be expoſed in the defence of a worthy cauſe.

§ 149. Theſe ſentiments wrought in him to the laſt in the moſt effectual manner; and he ſeemed for a while to have infuſed them into the regiment which he commanded: For they expreſſed ſuch a

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ſpirit in their march from Stirling, that I am aſſured the Colonel was obliged to exert all his authority to prevent their making incurſions on the rebel army, which then lay very near them; and had it been thought proper to ſend him the reinforcement he requeſted, none can ſay what the conſequence might have been: but he was ordered to march as faſt as poſſible, to meet Sir John Cope's forces at Dunbar, which he did: And that haſty retreat, in concurrence with the news which they ſoon after received of the ſurrender of Edinburgh to the Rebels, (either by the treachery or weakneſs of a few, in oppoſition to the judgment of by far the greater and better part of the inhabitants,) ſtruck a panic into both the regiments of dragoons, which became viſible in ſome very apparent and remarkable circumſtances in their behaviour, which I forbear to relate. This affected Colonel Gardiner ſo much, that on the Thurſday before the fatal action at Preſton-Pans, he intimated to an officer of conſiderable rank and note, (from whom I had it by a very ſure channel of conveyance,) that he expected the event would be, as in fact it was. In this view there is all imaginable reaſon to believe he had formed his reſolution as to his own perſonal conduct, which was, "that he "would not, in caſe of the flight of thoſe

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"under his command, retreat with them;" by which, as it seemed, he was reasonably apprehensive he might have stained the honour of his former services, and have given some occasion for the enemy to have spoken reproachfully. He much rather chose, if Providence gave him the call, to leave in his death an example of fidelity and bravery, which might very probably be, (as in fact it seems indeed to have been,) of much greater importance to his country, than any other service which in the few days of remaining life he could expect to render it. I conclude these to have been his views, not only from what I knew of his general character and temper, but likewise from some intimations which he gave to a very worthy person from Edinburgh, who visited him the day before the action; to whom he said, "I cannot influence the "conduct of others as I could wish, but "I have one life to sacrifice to my coun-"try's safety, and I shall not spare it;" or words to that effect.

§ 150. I have heard such a multitude of inconsistent reports of the circumstances of Colonel Gardiner's death, that I had almost despaired of being able to give my reader any particular satisfaction concerning so interesting a scene: but by a happy accident I have very lately had an opportunity of being exactly informed of the whole,

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by that brave man Mr John Foster, his faithful servant, (and worthy of the honour of serving such a master,) whom I had seen with him at my house some years before. He attended him in his last hours, and gave me the narration at large; which he would be ready, if it were requisite, to attest upon oath. From his mouth I wrote it down with the utmost exactness, and could easily believe, from the genuine and affectionate manner in which he related the particulars, that, according to his own striking expression, "his eye and his heart were "always upon his honoured master during "the whole time *."

§. 151. On Friday September 20th, (the day before the battle which transmitted him to his immortal crown,) when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the Colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Chri-

* Just as I am putting the last hand to these memoirs, March 2. 1746-7. I have met with a corporal in Col. Lascelles's regiment, who was also an eye-witness to what happened at Preston-Pans on the day of the battle and the day before: And the account he has given me of some memorable particulars is so exactly agreeable to that which I received from Mr Foster, that it would much corroborate his testimony, if there were not so many other considerations to render it convincing.

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rians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately: A desire, in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, both as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms; and also as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defence: A disadvantage, with which those wild barbarians (for such most of them were) perhaps would have been more struck than better disciplined troops; especially when they fought against the laws of their country too. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which it is natural to imagine he must have been perfectly acquainted, as it lay just at his own

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door, and he had rode over it ſo many hundred times. When I mention theſe things, I do not pretend to be capable of judging how far this advice was on the whole right. A variety of circumſtances, to me unknown, might make it otherwiſe. It is certain, however, that it was brave. But it was over-ruled in this reſpect, as it alſo was in the diſpoſition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our ſmall army, rather than juſt before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehenſive that the horſes which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into ſome diſorder by the diſcharge ſo very near them. He urged this the more, as he thought the attack of the Rebels might probably be made on the centre of the foot, where he knew there were ſome brave men, on whoſe ſtanding he thought under GOD the ſucceſs of the day depended. When he found that he could not carry either of theſe points, nor ſome others, which out of regard to the common ſafety he inſiſted upon with ſome unuſual earneſtneſs, he dropped ſome intimations of the conſequences which he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and ſubmitting to Providence, ſpent the remainder of the day in making as good a diſpoſition as circumſtances would allow *.

* Several of theſe circumſtances have ſince been

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§ 152. He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally ſheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning he called his domeſtic ſervants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He diſmiſſed three of them, with moſt affectionate Chriſtian advice, and ſuch ſolemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their ſouls, as ſeemed plainly to intimate that he apprehended it at leaſt very probable he was taking his laſt farewell of them. There is great reaſon to believe, that he ſpent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in thoſe devout exerciſes of ſoul, which had ſo long been habitual to him, and to which ſo many circumſtances did then concur to call him.

confirmed by the concurrent teſtimony of another very credible perſon, Mr Robert Douglas, (now a ſurgeon in the navy,) who was a volunteer at Edinburgh juſt before the Rebels entered that place, who ſaw Colonel Gardiner come from Haddington to the field of battle the day before the action in a chaiſe, being (as from that circumſtance he ſuppoſed,) in ſo weak a ſtate that he could not well endure the fatigue of riding on horſeback. He obſerved Colonel Gardiner in diſcourſe with ſeveral officers the evening before the engagement; at which time it was afterwards reported he gave his advice to attack the Rebels; and when it was over-ruled, he afterwards ſaw the Colonel walk by himſelf in a very penſive manner.

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The army was alarmed by break of day, by the noiſe of the Rebels approach, and the attack was made before ſun-riſe, yet when it was light enough to diſcern what paſſed. As ſoon as the enemy came within gunſhot they made a furious fire; and it is ſaid, that the dragoons, which conſtituted the left wing, immediately fled. The Colonel at the beginning of the action, which in the whole laſted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breaſt, which made him give a ſudden ſpring in his ſaddle; upon which his ſervant, who had led the horſe, would have perſuaded him to retreat: But he ſaid it was only a wound in the fleſh; and fought on, tho' he preſently after received a ſhot in his right thigh. In the mean time, it was diſcerned, that ſome of the enemy fell by him; and particularly one man, who had made him a treacherous viſit but a few days before, with great profeſſions of zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment.

§ 153. Events of this kind paſs in leſs time than the deſcription of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments ſupported by his men, and particularly by that worthy perſon Lieutenant Colonel Whitney, who was ſhot thro' the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by Lieutenant Weſt, a man of diſtin-

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guiſhed bravery; as alſo by about fifteen dragoons, who ſtood by him to the laſt. But after a feint fire, the regiment in general was ſeized with a pannic; and tho' their Colonel and ſome other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at laſt took a precipitate flight: an juſt in the moment when Colonel Gardiner ſeemed to be making a pauſe, to deliberate what duty required him to do in ſuch a circumſtance, an accident happened, which muſt, I think, in the judgment of every worthy and generous man, be allowed a ſufficient apology for expoſing his life to ſo great hazard, when his regiment had left him *. He ſaw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to ſupport, had no

* The Colonel, who was well acquainted with military hiſtory, might poſſibly remember, that in the battle of Blenheim, the illuſtrious Prince Eugene, when the horſe of the wing he commanded had run away thrice, charged at the head of the foot, and thereby greatly contributed to the glorious ſucceſs of the day. At leaſt ſuch an example may conduce to vindicate that noble ardour, which, amidſt all the applauſes of his country, ſome have been ſo cool and ſo critical as to blame. For my own part, I thank GOD, that I am not called to apologize for his following his troops in their flight, which I fear would have been a much harder taſk, and which, dear as he was to me, would have grieved me much more than his death, with theſe heroic circumſtances attending it.

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officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, "Those brave "fellows would be cut to pieces for want "of a commander;" or words to that effect: Which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried aloud, "Fire "on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully intangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander, who, if the king's evidence at Carlisle may be credited, (as I know not why they should not, tho' the unhappy creature died denying it, was one Mac-Naught, who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword, or a Lochaber-axe, (for my informant could not exactly distinguish,) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak,

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"Take care of yourself." Upon which the servant retired.

§ 154. It was reported at Edinburgh on the day of the battle, by what seemed a considerable authority, that as the Colonel lay in his wounds, he said to a chief of the opposite side, "You are fighting for "an earthly crown, I am going to receive "an heavenly one;" or something to that purpose. When I preached the sermon, long since printed, on occasion of his death, I had great reason to believe this report was true, though before the publication of it I began to be in doubt: And on the whole, after the most accurate inquiry I could possibly make at this distance, I cannot get any convincing evidence of it. Yet I must here observe, that it does not appear impossible, that something of this kind might indeed be uttered by him; as his servant testifies, that he spoke to him after receiving that fatal blow, which would seem most likely to have taken away the power of speech; and it is certain, he lived several hours after he fell. If therefore any thing of this kind did happen, it must have been just about this instant. But as to the story of his being taken prisoner, and carried to the Pretended Prince, (who by the way afterwards rode his horse, and entered upon it into Derby,) with several other circumstances which were grafted

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upon interview, there is the moſt undoubted evidence of its falſehood: For his attendant mentioned above aſſures me, that he himſelf immediately fled to a mill, at the diſtance of about two miles from the ſpot of ground on which the Colonel fell, where he changed his dreſs, and, diſguiſed like a miller's ſervant, returned with a cart as ſoon as poſſible; which yet was not till near two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much-honoured maſter, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but alſo ſtripped of his upper garments and boots, yet ſtill breathing: And adds, that though he were not capable of ſpeech, yet on taking him up he opened his eyes; which makes it ſomething queſtionable whether he were altogether inſenſible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the miniſter's houſe, and laid in bed; where he continued breathing, and frequently groaning, 'till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and ſorrow, and undoubtedly roſe to thoſe diſtinguiſhed glories which are reſerved for thoſe who have been ſo eminently and remarkably *faithful unto death.*

§. 155. From the moment in which he

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fell, it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The cruelties which the *Rebels* (as it is generally ſaid, under the command of Lord Elcho,) inflicted on ſome of the king's troops after they had aſk'd quarter, are dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who ſurvived it. They entered Colonel Gardiner's houſe before he was carried off from the field; and, notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders which the unhappy *Duke of Perth* (whoſe conduct is ſaid to have been very humane in many inſtances,) gave to the contrary, every thing of value was plundered, to the very curtains of the beds and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildeſt diſorder, and his houſe made an hoſpital for the reception of thoſe who were wounded in the action.

§. 156. Such was the cloſe of a life which had been ſo zealouſly devoted to God, and filled up with ſo many honourable ſervices. This was the death of him who had been ſo highly favoured by God, in the method by which he was brought back to him, after ſo long and ſo great an eſtrangement, and in the progreſs of ſo many years, during which (in the expreſſive phraſe of the moſt ancient of writers,) *he had walked with him*;——to fall as God threatened the people of his wrath they ſhould do, *with tumult, with ſhouting,*

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and with the sound of the trumpet, (Amos ii. 2.) Several other very worthy, and some of them very eminent persons, shared the same fate, either now in the battle of Preston-pans, or quickly after in that of Falkirk *: Providence no doubt permitting it to establish our faith in the rewards of an invisible world, as well as to teach us to *cease from man*, and fix our dependence on an Almighty arm.

§. 157. The remains of this *Christian hero*, (as I believe every reader is now convinced he may justly be called) were interred the *Tuesday* following, Sept. 24th, at the parish-church of Tranent, where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons

* Of these none were more memorable than those illustrious brothers Sir Robert Munro and Doctor Munro, whose tragical but glorious fate was also shared quickly after by a third hero of the family, Captain Munro of Culcairn, brother to Sir Robert and the Doctor. I thought of adding some account of these martyrs in the cause of liberty and religion in this place; but having had the pleasure of receiving, from some very credible and worthy persons to whom they were well known, a larger account of them and their family than can conveniently be comprehended in *a note*. I chuse to make it a distinct article in the Appendix, *Numb.* III. by which I question not but I shall oblige every intelligent and generous reader; and I think myself very happy to have it in my power to do it.

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of diſtinction, who were not afraid of paying that laſt piece of reſpect to his memory, tho' the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was ſo well known, that even they themſelves ſpoke honourably of him, and ſeemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of ſo brave and ſo worthy a man.

§. 158. The remoteſt poſterity will remember for whom the honour of ſubduing this unnatural and pernicious *rebellion* was reſerved; and it will endear the perſon of the illuſtrious DUKE of CUMBERLAND to all but the open or ſecret abettors of it in the preſent age, and conſecrate his name to immortal honours among all the friends of religion and liberty who ſhall ariſe after us. And I dare ſay it will not be imagined that I at all derogate from his glory, in ſuggeſting that the memory of that valiant and excellent perſon, whoſe memoirs I am now concluding, may in ſome meaſure have contributed to that ſignal and complete *victory* with which GOD was pleaſed to crown the arms of his *Royal Highneſs*: For the force of ſuch an example is very animating, and a painful conſciouſneſs of having deſerted ſuch a commander in ſuch extremity muſt at leaſt awaken, where there was any ſpark of generoſity, an earneſt deſire to *avenge his*

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death on thoſe who had ſacrificed his blood, and that of ſo many other excellent perſons, to the views of their ambition, rapine, or bigotry.

§. 159. The reflections I have made in my *funeral ſermon* on my honoured friend, and in the *dedication* of it to his worthy and moſt afflicted *Lady*, ſuperſede many things which might otherwiſe have properly been added here. I conclude therefore, with humbly acknowledging the wiſdom and goodneſs of that awful providence, which drew ſo thick a gloom around him in the laſt hours of his life, that the luſtre of his virtues might dart through it with a more vivid and obſervable ray. It is abundant matter of *thankfulneſs*, that ſo ſignal a monument of grace, and ornament of the Chriſtian profeſſion, was raiſed in our age and country, and ſpared for ſo many honourable and uſeful years. Nor can all the tenderneſs of the moſt affectionate friendſhip, while its ſorrows bleed afreſh in the view of ſo tragical a ſcene, prevent my adoring the gracious appointment of the great Lord of all events, that when the day in which he muſt have expired without an enemy appeared ſo very near, the laſt ebb of his generous blood ſhould be poured out, as a kind of ſacred libation, to the liberties of his country, and the honour of his GOD! that all the other virtues of his

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character, embalmed as it were by that precious ſtream, might diffuſe around a more extenſive fragrancy, and be tranſmitted to the moſt remote poſterity, with that peculiar charm, which they cannot but derive from their connection with *ſo gallant a fall:* An event (as that bleſſed *apoſtle*, of whoſe ſpirit he ſo deeply drank, has expreſſed it,) *according to his earneſt expectation, and his hope, that in him* CHRIST *might be glorified in all things, whether by his life, or by his death.*

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APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Relating to the COLONEL's *Perſon.*

IN the midſt of ſo many more important articles, I had really forgot to ſay any thing of the *perſon* of Colonel Gardiner, of which nevertheleſs it may be proper here to add a word or two. It was, as I am informed, in younger life, remarkably graceful and amiable; and I can eaſily believe it, from what I knew him to be when our acquaintance began, though he was then *turned of fifty*, and had gone through ſo many fatigues, as well as dangers, which could not but leave ſome traces on his countenance. He was tall, (I ſuppoſe, ſomething more than ſix feet,) well proportioned, and ſtrongly built: His eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his noſe of a length and

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and heighth no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining (when I knew him) to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet attempered with much gentleness: and there was something in his manner of address more perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper, and which no doubt was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

The *picture* of him, which is given at the beginning of these memoirs, was taken from an original done by Van Deest, (a Dutchman, brought into Scotland by General Wade.) in the year 1747, which was the 40th of his age; and is said to have been very like him then, though far from being an exact resemblance of what he was when I had the happiness of being acquainted with him. Perhaps he would have appeared to the greatest advantage of all, could he have been exactly drawn *on horseback*; as many very good judges, and among the rest the celebrated Mons. Fau-

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bert himſelf, have ſpoken of him as one of the completeſt horſemen that has ever been known: And there was indeed ſomething ſo ſingularly graceful in his appearance in that attitude, that it was ſufficient (as what is very eminent in its kind generally is,) to ſtrike an eye not form'd on any critical rules.

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NUMBER II.

POETICAL PIECES

ON THE

DEATH of COL. GARDINER.

SO animating a ſubject as the death of ſuch a man in ſuch circumſtances, has occaſioned a great deal of *poetry*. Some of this has already been publiſhed; eſpecially one large compoſition, ſaid to be done by a worthy *clergyman in Lincolnſhire*, in which there are many excellent lines and noble ſentiments: But I rather chuſe to refer to the piece itſelf, than to inſert any extracts from it here. It may be more expedient to oblige my reader with the following *copy of verſes*, and an *Elegiac poem*, compoſed by two of my valuable friends, whoſe names are annexed. I could not preſume to attempt any thing of this kind myſelf, becauſe I knew that nothing I was capable of writing could properly expreſs my ſenſe of his worth, or deſcribe the tenderneſs of my friendſhip; the ſentiments of which will, (as I aſſuredly believe,) mingle themſelves with the laſt ideas which paſs through my mind in this world, and perhaps with ſome of the firſt which may open upon it in that which is to come.

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VERSES
ON THE
DEATH of COL. GARDINER.

By the Rev. Mr *Benjamin Sowden.*

Quis Deſiderio ſit Pudor, aut Modus,
Tam chari Capitis? HOR.

COULD Piety perpetuate human breath,
Or ſhield one mortal from the ſhafts of Death,
Thou ne'er, illuſtrious man! thou ne'er hadſt been
A palid corpſe on Preſton's fatal plain.
Or could her hand, tho' impotent to ſave
Conſummate worth, redeem it from the grave,
Soon would thy urn reſign its ſacred truſt,
And recent life reanimate thy duſt.

But vain the wiſh--- The ſavage hand of War--
Oh how ſhall words the mournful tale declare!
Too ſoon the news afflicted friendſhip hears,
Too ſoon, alas! confirm'd her boding fears.
Struck with the ſound, unconſcious of redreſs,
She felt thy wounds, and wept ſevere diſtreſs.
A while diſſolv'd in tru eleſs grief ſhe lay,
Which left thee to relentleſs rage a prey.

At length kind Fame ſuſpends our heaving ſighs,
And wipes the ſorrows from our flowing eyes;

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Gives us to know, thine exit well ſupply'd
Thoſe blooming laurels Victory deny'd.
When thy great ſoul ſuppreſs'd each timid moan,
And ſoar'd triumphant in a dying groan,
Thy fall, which rais'd, now calms each wild complaint,
Thy fall, which join'd the hero to the ſaint.

As o'er th' expiring lamp the quiv'ring flame
Collects its luſtre in a brighter gleam,
Thy virtues, glimm'ring on the verge of night,
Thro' the dim ſhade diffuſs'd celeſtial light;
A radiance, death or time can ne'er deſtroy,
Th' auſpicious omen of eternal joy.

Hence ev'ry unavailing grief: No more
As hapleſs thy removal we deplore.
Thy guſhing veins, in every drop they bleed,
Of patriot warriors ſhed the fruitleſs ſeed.
Soon ſhall the ripen'd harveſt riſe in arms
To cruſh Rebellion's inſolent alarms.

While proſp'rous moments ſooth'd thro' life his way,
Conceal'd from public view the hero lay:
But when affliction clouded his decline,
It not eclips'd, but made his honours ſhine;
Gave them to beam conſpicuous from the gloom,
And plant unfading trophies round his tomb.

So ſtars are loſt amidſt the blaze of day;
But when the ſun withdraws his golden ray,
Refulgent thro' th' etherial arch they roll,
And gild the wide expanſe from pole to pole.

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AN

ELEGY

ON THE

DEATH of the truly pious and brave COL: JAMES GARDINER, who was ſlain by the Rebel Forces *September* 21ſt 1745, in the fatal Action at *Preſton-Pans*.

By the Rev. Mr THOMAS GIBBONS.

Nam, dum duelli lætior, hoſtica
Opprobriorum murmura vindice
Excuſat enſe, barbararum
Immertuus aggeribus cohortum;
Præfecta tandem colla volubili
Lapſu reclinat. Sed famula prope
Decuſque, præſigniſque virtus,
Semianimem ſubiere dextra:
Mox, expeditis corpore manibus,
Depræliatrix gloria ſiderum
Occurrit, et fulvo reclinem
Ire jubet ſuper aſtra curru.

CASIMIR.

I.

COME, Melancholy! from the ſtony cave
The ſcoop of Time for thee has made
Under the broad cliff's ſhade,
Upon the naked ſhore,
Where warring tempeſts rore
In concert with the hoarſe-reſounding wave;

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Come, but with solemn gait,
With trickling eyes,
And heavy sighs,
And all th' escutcheon'd pomp of fate;
And bring with thee the cypress and the yew,
All bath'd and dropping with the mortal dew,
To this sequester'd bow'r;
And let the midnight hour
Be hung in deeper glooms by thee,
And bid each gay idea flee:
While all the baleful images of wo,
That haunt the marble bust,
Or hover round the sepulcher'd dust,
With conscious horrors all my soul o'erflow
For 'tis no vulgar death
Urania means to mourn;
But in a doleful strain
She bids the harp complain,
And hangs the fun'ral wreath
On GARD'NER's awful urn.

II.

Gard'ner! what various fame
For ever crowns thy name?
Nor is it possible to say,
Or if the saint's, or hero's ray
Shone brightest in that blended blaze,
That form'd thine ample round of praise.
Like Moses on the sacred hill,
How hast thou stood with pleading eyes,
Outstretching hands, and fervent cries,
Unweary'd wrestler with the skies!

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Till heav'n, reſponſive to thy will,
Would all thy largeſt wiſhes fill;
Till the high-brandiſh'd bolt aſide was throwns
And the full bleſſing ſtream'd in ſilver murmur, down.
Nor leſs a Joſhua than a Moſes thou;
For oft in Liberty's high ſtrife
Haſt thou expos'd thy gen'rous life,
And with impatient ardors on thy brow
Ruſh'd foremoſt in the horrid van of fight,
Driving the troops of Tyranny to flight,
Unſhaken in the noble cauſe,
To pluck her bloody fangs, and break her iron jaws.

III.

When Anna ſent her choſen chief,
Victorious Marlborough,
To Europe's groans to give relief
In Bourbon's overthrow;
Renown'd Ramilia's tented field,
Where Galia dropt her idle ſhield,
And to the Britiſh ſtandard kneel'd,
Beheld young Gard'ner there.
Young Gard'ner! where the combat mow'd
The falling ranks, and widely ſtrow'd
Deſtruction and deſpair,
Wielded ſerene his youthful arms,
And, kindling at the dire alarms,
Enjoy'd the raging war:
But here, (for ſteel and flying ſhot
Fall chiefly to the hero's lot,)

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Swift thro' his lips the glancing bullet rung
His lips, on which th' unfinish'd oath was hung;
Nor ſtopt its wing'd impetuous force,
Till through the neck it plow'd its angry courſe.
Amazing thought! that they who life expoſe,
Where all the thunder of the battle glows,
Who ſee pale Death triumphant ride
Upon the crimſon's ſurging tide,
In blaſphemy and proud contempt ſhould riſe,
And hurl their mad defiance to the ſkies;
Whither a moment may convey
Their ſouls, diſlodging from their quiv'ring clay,
To take their laſt inexorable doom,
Big with immortal wrath, and dire deſpair to come.

IV.

Such Gard'ner was in early youth;
And while the warrior's rays
Beam'd round his head, celeſtial Truth
He ſpurn'd, and ſcorn'd her ways:
And, though th' Almighty arm was near,
Made his endanger'd life its care,
And heal'd the burning ſcores:
Yet Vice, collecting with his ſtrength,
Soon, ſoon burſts out in wilder length,
And like a torrent rores.
Now in the wide-enchanting bowl
The hero melts his manly ſoul;
And now he blots the ſhades of night
With blacker ſcenes of lewd delight:

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Anon in ſport he lifts his brow to heav'n
And ſwears by the Eternal name;
Aſks that the bolt may on his head be driv'n,
And courts the lagging flame.
So Pharaoh, when the fev'rish blains
No more emboſs'd his fleſh,
Nor hot infection through his veins,
Aſſum'd his rage afreſh;
And hard, grew harder ſtill,
And propp'd on his wild will,
Set up the ſtandard of his pride, defy'd.
Curs'd Iſra'l's God and King, and all his plagues

V.

But, Muſe, in ſofter notes relate,
For ſofter notes upon thee wait,
How Gard'ner, when his youth had rang'd
Theſe guilty ſcenes, to heav'n eſtrang'd,
Paus'd in his mid career, and was divinely chang'd,
That God, whoſe piercing radiance darts
O'er all our ways, and all our hearts,
The bold tranſgreſſor from his throne ſurvey'd,
And thus in accents breathing mildneſs ſaid:
"Go, Mercy! charg'd with my ſupreme command,
"Thou, faireſt daughter, thron'd at my right hand;
"Go! wing thy downward race,
"And ſtop that Rebel in his furious way;
"His heart ſhall thy victorious call obey,
"And take the willing ſtamp of grace:

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" For never ſhall thy call ſucceſsleſs prove,
" And thou lament thy baffled aim,
" If thou but dare thy choſen flame,
" Arm'd with the Saviour's energy of love."
He ſpoke; and gave th' Almighty nod,
The ſanction of th' eternal God:
At once the joyful news is propagated round,
Loud anthems from the golden roofs rebound,
And Heav'n's high chryſtal domes remurmur with the ſound.

VI.

Mercy obeys; and from th' empyreal height
Precipitates her glitt'ring flight;
A ſtarry circle ſparkl'd round her head,
And a wide rainbow o'er her progreſs ſpread:
Muſe, ſing the wond'rous plan,
And ſing the wondrous hour,
In which the Sov'reign Pow'r
Th' Almighty work began,
And ſignaliz'd her arm, and triumph'd o'er the man.
Bent on adult'rous ſhame
The ſinner ſhe beheld;
His boſom burnt with guilty flame,
And at the future joy in ſecret raptures ſwell'd:
Enrag'd he curs'd the lazy moon
In her nocturnal tour,
That thought his bliſs would come too ſoon,
And clogg'd the midnight hour.
'Twas then when Luſt's malignant ſway
Had ſtifl'd Conſcience' pang, and ſmother'd Reaſon's ray,

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That Mercy ſtept between
Th' adult'rer and his ſinful ſcene;
And painted on his mental ſight,
Dreſs'd round in beams divinely bright,
The Saviour ſtretch'd upon the tree,
In purple ſweats, and dying agony:
(Such was the viſion, and the blaze the ſame,
That Saul, intent on murders, ſaw,
When Jeſus, ſpeaking from the radiant flame,
O'erwhelm'd his conſcious ſoul with awe.)
Then thus a voice arreſts his ear:
"See, Gard'ner, ſee thy Saviour here!
"And was this wood
"Ting'd in my blood,
"And did I languiſh in theſe woes for thee,
"And canſt thou plunge theſe recent wounds
"in me!"
O'erpow'r'd with vaſt ſurprize,
A pris'ner of the ſkies
The ſwooning champion falls,
And fear, that never yet his ſoul had ſhook,
Bedews his limbs, glares wild upon his look,
And all his ſoul appals;
But half the agony was unfulfill'd,
Till Mercy from her chryſtal urn inſtill'd
Fierce on his heart the burning drops;
Drops that from Sinai came,
From Sinai, where th'Almighty thund'rer forms
His ſhafted lightnings, and his bolted ſtorms,
And from whoſe boiling tops [flame.
The wild ſulphureous ſurge runs down in liquid

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Stung with th' infufferable ſmart
That feſter'd at his heart,
Gard'ner awakes, and round he throws
His ghaſtly eyes, and ſcarce he knows,
Or if he lives in nature's midnight gloom,
Or, clos'd in hell's unfathomable womb;
Black o'er his head eternal horrors roll,
And the keen gnawing worm devours his inmoſt ſoul.

VII.

But when his wand'ring thought had found
Himſelf a tenant of the ground,
Still, ſtill his conſcience felt the flaming wound,
Sudden before his proſpect glows
The everlaſting gulph of woes;
From the o'er-hanging brink he ſeems to bend,
(The brink that crumbled as he ſtood,
And nodded o'er the dreadful flood,)
And down in headlong ruin to deſcend
To the broad-burning waves, and pains that never end*.
He turns; but ah, no friendly hand,
Nor ſpark of glimm'ring hope, appears,
Amidſt the raging torment of his fears;
But outlaw'd from th' realms of ſhining bleſs,
He thinks he feels the unextinguiſh'd fires,
A waving waſte of blue aſcending ſpires,
And plunges in the bottomleſs abyſs;
For, oh! his ſins in crowding numbers ſtand,
And each tempts vengeance from th' Almighty hand;

* See Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, b. xi. l. 416.

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But fiercer o'er the reſt Ingratitude appears,
That ſcorn'd the Saviour's love, and flaming horror wears.
But while in ſad confuſion toſs'd,
And tortur'd with deſpair,
He doom'd his ſoul for ever loſt,
The bright ethereal Fair,
(For 'twas her kind deſign
Not to deſtroy, but to refine,)
Amidſt the darkneſs and the ſtorms
Her ſacred embaſſy performs;
For Guilt diſplay'd in all its frightful dyes,
And crimſon'd over with redeeming blood,
Draws out the rolling anguiſh from his eyes,
And all his ſtubborn ſoul with low ſubmiſſion bow'd.
'Tis done: O miracle of love!
Not minds below nor minds above,
Great God! can trace thy myſtic ways,
And pay the equal note of praiſe.
'Tis done. And now with outſtretch'd wings
Back to the ſkies the radiant Pow'r withdrew,
And, as her mounting path ſhe ſprings,
The ſilver trump of victory ſhe blows,
In ſtronger dyes her arch refulgent glows,
And a far-ſtreaming glory tracks th' ethereal blue.

VIII.

At once abjuring all his ſins,
Gardner the heav'nly life begins,
And pleads the honours of his God
With irreſiſtable defence
Againſt the colour'd arts of eloquence,
Tho' clouded with his Maker's frown, and cruſh'd beneath his rod.

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But quickly a celeſtial ray
Shot o'er his ſoul unclouded day,
And balmy dews, and blooming life were giv'n,
The early antepaſt of heav'n.
And now what equal words ſhall paint
How Gard'ner, freed from tyrant luſts,
Nor longer toſs'd in paſſion's guſts,
Felt, ſpoke, and acted all the ſaint!
That holy name which he profan'd before,
Behold him now with ſuppliant knee adore;
At morn and eve his warm devotions riſe,
Like clouds of incenſe, fragrant to the ſkies:
No more the grape's nectareous juice
Could tempt beyond a prudent uſe!
No wanton ſpeech defil'd his tongue;
No deed deſign'd his neighbour wrong:
But the fair ſtreams of innocence,
And unconfin'd benevolence,
O'er all his life uninterrupted ran,
And thro' their chryſtal mirrors ſhew'd the man.
The numerous characters he bore
With a diſtinguiſh'd praiſe he wore,
And ſubject, ſoldier, huſband, parent, friend,
He blended and ennobled to the end.
Now with ſeraphic tranſports fir'd
The pinions of his zeal aſpir'd,
Scarce patient till he broke the mortal ſhell,
And bid this empty ſcene and duſky globe farewell:
Heav'n was his home, and to his home he bent,
And ere the rounds of fatal life were ſpent;
Thither his paſſions would divinely roll,
The ſwift-wing'd heralds of his coming ſoul.

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Peace at his tent would often light and ſing,
And ſhed the dewy bleſſings from her wing;
And rills, devolving from the fount above,
Pour'd o'er his heart extatic life and love.

IX.

Thus Gard'ner liv'd; till from the gloomy North
Rebellion, graſping targe and ſteely arms,
Ruſh'd, like a mountain-boar, impetuous forth,
And ſhook our realms with horrible alarms;
Rebellion aiming at one waſteful ſway,
To ſtrike the diadem from Brunſwick's head,
Tear Liberty and all her mounds away,
And Popery's o'erwhelming horrors ſpread:
The news to Gard'ner came,
And fann'd the noble flame,
Which pure Religion, heaven-born Liberty,
And dauntleſs Fortitude had rais'd;
And as the gath'ring terrors thunder'd nigh,
With a redoubled ſtrength the mountain-fervors blaz'd.
What tho' Diſtemper had ſubdu'd his limbs,
And Age defrauded half the purple ſtreams,
That bloom'd his features o'er,
When in Rebellion's ſtorm before,
He, riſing in the glorious cauſe
Of George's right and Britain's laws,
Swept down the trait'rous files, and Preſton ſwam with gore;
Yet his unbroken ſoul diſdains
Age's dull load of cramps and pains;
His youthful rage returns,
And for the battle burns;

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Then, ſpringing from Franciſſa's tender arms,
Diſſolv'd in flowing tears,
O'erwhelm'd with boding fears,
And only ſolac'd with the view
That Heav'n their friendſhip would renew;
He, in th' unſhaken confidence of pray'r,
Sways the keen flame of his revenging ſword
For his eternal and his earthly lord,
Serenely meets the danger's wild alarms,
Plants his embattel'd force, and waits the ruſhing war.
So Michael*, bent on glorious fight,
Againſt Satanic rage and might
Came tow'ring to the field;
Unconſcious of a quiv'ring fear,
He ſaw the foe his duſky horrors rear,
Wave his broad-flaming ſword, and heave his moony ſhield.

X.

Not far from where Edina lifts
Her towers into the ſkies,
Or where the ocean-bounding cliffs
In clouded ſummits riſe,
Preſton extends her humble cots,
Long, long unknown to Fame;
But flying routs and purple ſpots
Have ſtamp'd th' eternal ſhame.
Here, here, (O could Time's brazen pen
Daſh the reproach away!
Or, as the day returns again,
Might midnight choak its ray!)

* Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, B. vi. l. 255.

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Britannia's troops in vain
Oppos'd the rebel hoſt,
And fled inglorious o'er the plain,
Their courage wither'd, and their ſtandards loſt.
Muſe, paint the doleful ſcene
With ſighs and tears between;
For ſighs and tears ſhould riſe
From ev'ry Britiſh heart, and guſh from all our eyes
Swift on the loyal van
The yellow furies ran,
Like the wild ocean that has rent
Its ſhores, and roars along the Continent;
Or in the winged light'ning's livid glare
Darting along th' immeaſur'd fields of air.
Confounded at the ſhock,
The yielding ſquadrons broke:
And now, (for hell inſpir'd the throng,)
The gloomy murd'rers ruſh'd along;
And fierce the ſteely blade
Its horrid circles play'd,
Till hideous cries,
Quiv'ring ſighs,
Hopeleſs ſcreams,
Batter'd limbs,
Bloody ſtreams,
And univerſal rout deform'd the ground,
Laid waſte the Britiſh ſtrength, and the wide champaign drown'd.
"Come on, come on!" mad Elcho cries,
And for his murders thanks the ſkies,
(While the Italian from afar,
Too ſoft a ſoul to mix in war,

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Enjoying all the guilt, beheld
His bloody harpies tear the field,)
" Ply, ply the thirſty ſteel,
" Round the full vengeance wheel;
" Each heretic muſt yield his breath
" That for the Hanoverian brood
" Or lifts a ſword,
" Or ſpeaks a word;
" Come! gorge your ſouls with death
" And drown your ſteps in blood:
" Think, think what bliſsful periods roll be-
" hind,
" Let London's mighty plunder fill your mind,
" When boundleſs wealth ſhall be with bound-
" leſs empire join'd."

XI.

Gard'ner, with mind elate
Above the rage of Fate,
His country's bulwark ſtood
'Midſt broken lines of death, and riſing waves of blood.
His ſoul diſdains retreat,
Tho' urg'd by foul defeat;
Now to his ſcatt'ring friends he calls,
To wheel again and charge the foe;
Now hurls the wide-deſtroying balls,
Now deals the 'vengeful blow.
Forſaken and alone,
And torn with gaſhing wounds,
He hears the treas'nous ſhout, he hears the loyal groan:
But nought the purpoſe of his ſoul confounds;

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And ſtill with new delight
He tempts the midmoſt fight,
Propp'don his ſacred cauſe and courage of his own,
Th' embattled ranks of foot he ſpies
Without a leading chief,
And, like a ſhooting ray, he flies
To lend his brave relief.
Here the broad weapon's forceful ſway,
Swung with tempeſtuous hand,
Plough'd thro' his fleſh its furious way,
And ſtretch'd him on the ſtrand.
Welt'ring in gore, with fiery fiends beſet,
The dying Gard'ner lies;
No gentle hand to wipe the mortal ſweat,
And cloſe his ſwimming eyes.
The unrelenting crew
The hero diſarray'd;
But ſtruck at his majeſtic view,
Their ſouls were half diſmay'd:
And, had not hell inſtamp'd its hate,
Their ſtony eye-balls o'er his fate
Had ſtream'd with human wo; for heav'nly mild
He o'er their gloomy forms the Chriſtian pardon ſmil'd.
But not a tear muſt bathe, or garment ſhield
His mangled limbs from ſight,
Down trodden in the fight:
While his fair manſion, that o'ertops the field,
The naked murther ſees, and trembles from its height.

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Still the departing flame of life
Wav'd languishing in doubtful strife;
Till, such his servant's faithful care,
(May heav'n's distinguish'd goodness crown
The goodness to his master shown!)
The wheels slow-moving, from the scenes of war
To Tranent bore th' expiring Chief,
In sullen sounds remurm'ring to his grief.
Urania, mark the melancholy road,
And with thy tears efface the scatt'ring blood;
Nor stopt, till on the late reposing bed
(Oh! rather 'tis the fun'ral bier!)
You see the hero's pallid body spread,
And his last anguish hear.
Half choak'd with clotted gore,
He draws the hollow moan;
Flitting his pulse, and fix'd his eyes,
All pale and motionless he lies,
And seems to breathe no more——
Oh! that's the life-dissolving groan:—
Farewell, dear man! for in that pang thy mind
Soars to its God, and leaves the clog behind.

XII.

Gard'ner is dead!——The bloody trump of Fame
Proclaim'd the mighty death;
In ev'ry look the posting rumour came,
And flew on ev'ry breath.
The widow'd partner of his life
The doleful tidings hears,
And, silent in stupendous grief,
Her eyes refuse their tears:

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Oppreſs'd beneath th' immeaſurable weight,
Her ſpirit faints away,
As, ſympathetic with the hero's fate,
It meant to quit its clay.
The pledges of his love
Their filial duty prove,
And each with tender hands uprears,
With hands all cover'd o'er in tears,
Their mother's ſinking head;
And groan reſounds to groan,
For, oh! the beſt of huſbands gone,
The beſt of fathers dead!
But Gard'ner's death is more than private woe;
Wide and more wide th' increaſing ſorrows run;
O'er Britiſh lands unlimited they go;
And fly acroſs the ſeas, and travel with the ſun.
Religion, that from heav'n had bow'd
To watch the ſcale of fight,
When holy Gard'ner fell,
Who lov'd, and who adorn'd her cauſe ſo well,
Retir'd behind a crimſon cloud,
Nor could ſuſtain the ſight.
Britannia, where ſhe ſate
Upon the ſea-beat ſhore,
To eye the battle's fate,
Her ſilver mantle tore:
Then thus, her bluſhing honours wann'd,
Her ſceptre quiv'ring in her hand,
Her laurels wither'd, and her head declin'd,
Ten thouſand terrors boding in her mind,
She to the deep in bitter wailings griev'd,
While her fall'n helm the trickling drops received:

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" What havock of my martial force
" Has this ſad morn beheld,
" Torn, gaſh'd, and heap'd without remorſe
" Upon the naked field!
" But Gard'ner's death afflicts me moſt,
" Than whom a chief I could not boaſt,
" More faithful, vigilant, and brave;
" And ſhould acroſs his grave
" An hecatomb of Highland Brutes be ſlain,
" They could not recompenſe his injur'd ghoſt,
" Nor fully quench my rage, and wipe away my ſtain.

XIII.

But ſee in ſplendid ſtate
Cherubic convoys come,
And waft the hero from his fate
To his celeſtial home.
Now, now he ſails along,
Encircl'd with their throng,
(The throng, that clap their mantling wings,
And to loud trumpets ſtrike their ſtrings,)
Thro' liquid ſeas of day
Ploughing the azure way,
Till to the ſtarry tow'rs the ſquadrons riſe.
The ſtarry tow'rs, thick ſown with pearl and gold
Their adamantine leaves unfold,
And ſhewn the entrance to th' empyreal ſkies:
Thro' them our hero mark'd his road,
And thro' the wheeling ranks of heav'n
An unobſtructed path was giv'n,
Till he attain'd th' eternal throne of God;

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A throne that blaz'd in uncreating beams,
And from its footstool gush'd unnumber'd streams
Streams, that in everlasting currents roll,
And pour the boundless joy o'er all th' expanded soul.
Well hast thou done, th' Almighty Father spoke;
Well hast thou done, th' exalted Jesus cry'd;
Well hast thou done, (all heav'n the Euge took,)
The saints and angels in their songs reply'd.
And now a robe of spotless white,
But where the Saviour's flowing vein
Had blush'd it with a sanguine stain,
Invests him round: In various light
(For such was the divine command,)
Refulgent on his brows a crown was plac'd;
And a triumphal palm his better hand
With golden blossoms grac'd.
Nigh to the seat of bliss
His mansion was assign'd;
Sorrow and sin forsook his breast,
His weary soul was now at rest,
And life, and love, and ecstacies [mind.
Unbound his secret pow'rs, and overflow'd his

XIV.

Nor has thy life, heroic man, been spilt
Without a wrath proportion'd to the guilt:
Enkindl'd by the cries that rose
From thy dear sacred blood, with those
That shriek'd for vengeance from the brave Munro's,
Who fell a martyr'd sacrifice
To cool remorseless butcheries.

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Heav'n ſends its angel righteouſly ſevere,
And from the foe exacts the laſt arrear.
For when the barb'rous bands,
Thick as the ſwarms that blacken'd Egypt's ſtrands,
And furious as the Winter's ruſhing rains
Impell'd by whirlwinds thro' the plains,
Had o'er our country roll'd,
Young William roſe, (auſpicious name,
Sacred to Liberty and Fame!)
And their mad rage controll'd.
Back to their hills and bogs they fled,
(For terror wing'd their nimble ſpeed,)
And howl'd for help in vain:
William purſu'd, and launch'd his vengeful ire,
(As o'er the ſtubble runs the crackling fire,)
Upon the grov'ling train:
Shudd'ring with horror and deſpair,
With bellowing pain they rend the air,
Till Culloden's illuſtrious moore
Groan'd with the heaps of ſlain, and ſmok'd with rebel-gore.
Then, Muſe! ſuppreſs thy riſing ſighs,
And wipe the anguiſh from thine eyes;
Sing, how Rebellion has receiv'd its doom,
How Gard'ner dwells in his eternal home,
And in each Britiſh heart has rais'd a laſting tomb.

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NUMBER III.

An account of ſome remarkable particulars concerning the ancient family of the MUNROES of FOWLIS.

WHILE I was endeavouring to do juſtice to the memory of that excellent man, and moſt beloved friend, whoſe memoirs I have now concluded; and was mentioning, in the courſe of my narration, the tragical conſequences which the unnatural rebellion by which he fell had drawn along with it, and the many other valuable perſons of whom it had alſo deprived us; I could not but particularly reflect on the awful cataſtrophe of Sir Robert Munro, and his two brothers, the Captain and the Doctor, who all within the compaſs of eight months, and in leſs than twelve after the death of Colonel Gardiner, (with whom they were well acquainted, and to whom they were allied in the bonds of a virtuous and honourable friendſhip,) fell a ſacrifice

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to the rage and cruelty of the ſame ſavage deſtroyers.—I was deſirous of interweaving ſo remarkable a piece of hiſtory with a ſubject, to which it was, alas! ſo nearly connected; and therefore I applied myſelf to a perſon of high rank moſt nearly related to them, on whoſe information I was ſure I might entirely depend; intreating the favour of ſuch an account of theſe three excellent brothers, and of the circumſtances of their death, as I might ſafely and properly offer to the view of the public.

This honourable perſon referred me to a gentleman, well acquainted with the hiſtory of the family of the Munroes of Fowlis, and poſſeſſed of a diſtinct hiſtorical account of it, taken from the annals which have been kept of that family for many ages paſt, and from the old writs, charters, and other authentic deeds belonging to it, which are the vouchers of theſe annals.

The gentleman was pleaſed to favour me with a pretty large hiſtorical account of this family, beginning it much higher, and carrying it through a much wider extent than I could have expected from the particular view with which I firſt requeſted information.——I next obtained inſtructions on the ſame ſubject from a gentleman at London.——I was then furniſhed

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with a particular relation from another gentleman, a pious miniſter of the church of Scotland, with whom I have the happineſs of being well acquainted. And as all theſe are perſons of ſuch a character, that none who know them can queſtion the veracity and teſtimony of each, ſo they were each of them happy in a moſt intimate acquaintance with all the three deceaſed brothers, after whom I inquired.——And laſt of all, I received from a fourth gentleman an hiſtorical account of this family from the moſt early times; which, by the date it bears, was compiled a great many years ago, and which, it ſeems, was intended to have been publiſhed in an hiſtorical account of ſome of the ancient families of Scotland; which work became abortive through the death of the author.

When I compared theſe ſeveral accounts, as I received them from time to time, it gave me great ſatisfaction to find them all agree, and tally ſo exactly in their accounts of this family, and of the three excellent brothers laſt deceaſed.——On an attentive peruſal of theſe informations, I found they contained what was too curious and important to be loſt, and yet too long to be inſerted in the memoirs of Colonel Gardiner, without breaking the unity of deſign in a manner that would have proved inconvenient.——I concluded there-

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fore, that (especially as those memoirs were finished before some of these papers came to my hands,) it would be best to present it to the world in a distinct piece, connected by way of Appendix to the former. And I feel a most sensible pleasure in the addition I am hereby making to the work, as it is paying some little debt of gratitude to the illustrious dead, and at the same time doing a just honour to the surviving branches of a family, from whence so many heroes have sprung, and of which there are still (though after much sad desolation made in it) most worthy remains. And I hope that it may not only entertain my readers with some remarkable facts worthy of commemoration, but excite in their breasts something of the same generous spirit, to which nothing can more powerfully instigate the mind than the view of such glorious examples.

The family of the Munroes of Fowlis is among the most ancient and honourable families in the North of Scotland, and has generally been remarkable for a brave, martial and heroic spirit. It is mentioned by Buchanan with a memorable testimony *, when, after speaking of the diffi-

* *Audito principis periculo, magnâ prisorum* Scotorum *multitudo affuit, imprimis.* Fraseri *et* Munroii, *hominum fortissimorum in illis gentibus familiciae.* Buchan. Hist. Lib. xvii. page 618.

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culties in which Mary Queen of Scots was involved at Inverneſs, he adds, "That as "ſoon as they heard of their Sovereign's "danger, a great number of the ancient "Scots poured in around her, eſpecially "the Fraſers and Monroes, which, (ſays "he) were eſteemed among the moſt va-"liant of the clans inhabiting thoſe coun-"tries." And how well the latter have ever ſince continued to deſerve that character, the following memoirs, brief as they are, may in ſome degree ſhew.

The Monroes of Fowlis have, in every one of their generations, been intermarried with many of the beſt families of nobility and gentry in the north of Scotland. And it is yet more for their honour, that they were among the firſt in thoſe parts that embraced the Reformation, and have ever ſince been zealous aſſertors of it. And many of them have not only given great countenance and encouragement to the miniſters of the goſpel in the pariſhes under their influence, in conſequence of which a great harveſt of moſt eminent Chriſtians hath been produced there; but alſo have themſelves been ſignal examples of true piety, and a behaviour in all its branches moſt ornamental to a Chriſtian profeſſion. ——I fear there have been few families to which ſuch a character can be univerſally applied: But it is certain, that, ſo far

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as it is the caſe, it is the moſt illuſtrious of all hereditary honours; and therefore ſeems to have been mentioned with the utmoſt propriety by my ſeveral correſpondents in this connection.

According to Buchanan, it was in the beginning of the eleventh century, and about the time of the conqueſt in England, when Malcolm, the II. of that name, King of Scots, firſt diſtributed, or as it is expreſſed, fued out or feed the lands of Scotland to the great families thereof, on account of their eminent ſervices in his many battles with the Danes, until he forced them quite out of his kingdom. And according to tradition, it was on that occaſion that the country betwixt the borough of Dingwall and the water of Alneſs, in the ſhire of Roſs, was given to Donald Munro; and which is therefore to this day called Ferrindonald, that is, Donald's land. And part of theſe lands were afterwards by the king erected into a barony, called the barony of Fowlis.

I ſhall not follow the annals of this family ſo far as to entertain the public with a detail of the Barons of Fowlis in their ſeveral generations thro' theſe early ages; but ſhall begin my particular narration of them only from the time they became Proteſtants, when their brave behaviour and example will afford us more inſtruction,

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and the facts concerning them may be depended on with more certainty; and therefore I shall only before that time observe,

That George, ninth baron * of Fowlis, (in a direct lineal descent from the above Donald, the first baron,) was slain at the memorable battle of Bannockburn, fought by King Robert Bruce of Scotland against King Edward II. of England, in the year 1314.——George, tenth baron of Fowlis, and son of the former, was also slain, with a great many of his name, at the battle of

*It is to be observed, (1st,) That baron in Scotland does not import nobility, as it does now in England: For at the time the lands of Scotland were divided as above, there were then no nobility in that nation, but the great families had their estates erected into baronies, with a jurisdiction over all the vassals, tenants, and possessors thereof, which was the origin and support of the clans in Scotland, these being the only military force in that kingdom, until, upon the union of the two crowns in the person of King James VI. of Scotland, regular troops were introduced into that kingdom.——To this I would add (2dly,) That the annals of this family contain a genealogical account of all the barons of Fowlis, from the above Donald Munro to this present time. Several of these can only be transmitted to us by tradition; but as to those whom I have mentioned, there is full evidence of the facts concerning them from the old writs, charters, and deeds in the family of Fowlis; and even several others of them whom I have not mentioned are taken notice of in these old writs.

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Halydon Hill near Berwick; in which battle the Scots were defeated by the Engliſh, and a great number of them killed, on the 22d of July A. D. 1333.——Robert Munro, ſeventeenth baron of Fowlis, was ſlain at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh, with many of his name; where the Scots were again defeated by the Engliſh, and a great number of them killed A. D. 1547.——I mention the fall of theſe three gentlemen, with their friends and followers, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of their country, as illuſtrating the valour and bravery of this family in their different generations, and ſhewing how juſtly they merited the character which Buchanan gives them in the place before cited. How long this brave ſpirit has continued, as it were, hereditary to them, will appear from what follows.

The firſt Proteſtant of this family was Robert Munro, the eighteenth baron of Fowlis, ſon to Robert laſt mentioned, and the ſame who came to the aſſiſtance of Mary Queen of Scots upon the occaſion before cited, A. D. 1562. He embraced the Proteſtant religion quickly after; and being a wiſe and good man, he left an opulent eſtate to the family, and died A. D. 1588.——He was ſucceeded by his ſon Robert Munro, nineteenth baron of Fowlis, who died the ſame year with his father.——The next to him

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was his brother, Hector Munro, twentieth baron of Fowlis, who died A. D. 1603.—— Robert Munro his ſon ſucceeded him, the twenty-firſt baron of Fowlis, who flouriſhed when Guſtavus Adolphus, that juſtly celebrated King of Sweden, (whoſe religion and valour were ſo diſtinguiſhed among his many religious and valiant cotemporaries,) were engaged in a Proteſtant war againſt the Emperor Ferdinand the II. in defence of the civil as well as the ſacred liberties of Germany. The generous heart of this worthy gentleman was ſo ſtruck with a regard to the common cauſe, in which he himſelf had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Guſtavus with a very great number of his friends, who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of Robert, their leader, was ſo eminent, that he was made Colonel of two regiments at the the ſame time, the one of horſe, and the other of foot, in that ſervice; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much fidelity and zeal, that he died of the wounds which he received in croſſing the Danube, and was buried at Ulme in the month of March 1633.

He was ſucceeded by Sir Henry Monro, twenty-ſecond baron of Fowlis, the next male-heir of the family, who was alſo

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Colonel of a regiment in the ſame ſervice*; and upon his coming over to Britain, was created a baronet in June 1633. Returning afterwards to Germany, he died at Hamburgh in April 1635.——His ſon, Sir Hector Munro, was twenty-third baron of Fowlis, who died without iſſue in the year 1651, at ſeventeen years of age.——Sir Robert Munro, twenty-fourth baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded as the neareſt male-heir, being grandſon to George Munro of Obſdale, who was third ſon to Robert Munro, the eighteenth baron of Fowlis.

My information imports, that in the before-mentioned annals of this family, there is a well-atteſted liſt of officers, (of which I have a copy in the memorial laſt ſent me,) wherein there are three Generals, eight Colonels, five Lieutenant-Colonels, eleven Majors, and above thirty Captains, all of the name of Munro; beſides a great number of Subalterns. Moſt of theſe were in that religious war under the great Guſtavus Adolphus; and ſome of the deſcendants of this family are at this day in poſſeſſion of conſiderable military commands

* It was formerly the cuſtom in Scotland, and is ſo ſtill among ancient families, to entail the ſucceſſion of their family-eſtate to the neareſt male relation of the deceaſed, paſſing by the females, thereby to preſerve their eſtates in their own name and family.

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in Sweden, and various parts of Germany —General Robert Munro (who was uncle to Sir Robert, the twenty-fourth baron of Fowlis,) published, in the year 1644, an account of this religious war under Gustavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, entitled, "Military discipline learned from the valiant Swede." A book, of which, (tho' I never happened to see it,) I have heard a high character. I am informed that it contains an exact journal of that expedition into Germany for the relief of the distressed Protestants; and it is said to be filled with most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety, which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. And indeed, by what I have heard of that instructive history, it is hard to say, when there has been, even in the Christian world, so religious and well-disciplined an army as this; at the head of which, a mysterious providence permitted that royal hero and martyr, the great Gustavus, to fall. Would to GOD the time might at length come when our commanders should take their lessons from it; at least so far as to learn from the example of some of the bravest and greatest of men, to maintain in the military bodies under their command the authority of the LORD OF HOSTS; and particularly, that reverence for his name,

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and for his day, which was there so beautifully and gloriously conspicuous!

This worthy General, in the year 1641, was appointed by King Charles the I. Major General of the Scots forces, that were sent to Ireland to suppress the infamous and destructive rebellion there. It is not my business here to insist on those unhappy circumstances, which so long retarded their march, and so greatly obstructed their success. I find, however, that he had at length the honour to be in the number of those, by whom God gave blood to drink to those miscreants who had rendered themselves so eminently worthy of it by a series of outrages, which the most sanguinary and detestable faction on earth, (I mean that of Popery,) has seldom been able to exceed. For in the year 1644, this illustrious commander, at the head of 14,000 of the Scots and English Protestants, fought and defeated 22,000 of the Irish in Ulster, killed and took many thousands of them, and seized on a great quantity of cattle and other provisions, of which the Protestants were then in great want.

The General was a great favourer of the Presbyterian interest, and among the first who established it in Ireland. He sat in their Presbyteries and Synods, and adhered to the interest of the Parliament, till he apprehended they were carrying

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matters to an exceſſive height againſt the King: on which he accepted of a commiſſion from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond; to which he was perſuaded by his nephew Sir George Munro, (of whom afterwards,) who had always adhered to the intereſt of Charles the I. as he afterwards did to that of Charles the II.

In the year 1645, the General was ſurprized by Colonel Monk, before he could draw out his men from their quarters; and he and they were by that means taken priſoners: But he continued not long in their hands; for death came and ſet him at liberty ſoon after.

It is worthy of our notice by the way, that in the year 1644, we find Monk impriſoned by the Parliament, for having accepted a commiſſion from the King; and acted in conſequence of it, though before that he had acted by commiſſion from the Parliament: And again, in the year 1648, we find him fighting for the Parliament againſt the king: And his ſurpriſing and taking General Munro was the firſt thing that brought him into favour with the Parliament. For in that reeling time we find men of a much better character than Monk changing ſides again and again, as they apprehended the one party or the other to be in the right, from the many different de-

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mands, refusals, and conceſſions, which then happened between them.

The General was ſucceeded in his command by Sir George Munro, brother to the laſt mentioned Sir Robert, and both of them nephews to General Robert by his brother Colonel John Munro of Obſdale in the Swediſh ſervice: Sir George was alſo bred in that ſervice with his uncle, and afterwards ſerved with him in Ireland, where he arrived at the rank of a Colonel. He was made Major General by King Charles the II. and had a body of forces under his command at Kendal, when James Duke of Hamilton was defeated by Cromwell at Lancaſter A. D. 1648. Upon this defeat, Sir George returned to Scotland, and defeated the Earl of Argyle: and afterwards his forces being diſbanded by order of the States of Scotland, he went to Holland, and joined King Charles the II. After whoſe reſtoration he was made Lieutenant-General, and Commander in chief in Scotland.

Sir John Munro, twenty-fifth baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded his father Sir Robert A. D. 1668. He was a member of the convention of the eſtates of Scotland at the revolution, and a very zealous promoter of that happy event. He was no leſs ſtrenuous in aſſerting Preſbytery; and on that account, being alſo remarkable for a large

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and corpulent ſtature, he was nick-named the Preſbyterian mortar-piece. His eminent piety and zeal had expoſed him to great ſufferings in the cauſe of religion, in thoſe unhappy and infamous days, when the beſt friends to their country were treated as the worſt enemies to the government; and when to be conſcientiouſly ſolicitous to depart from evil, made ſo many thouſands a prey. Sir John ſuffered greatly among many others of whom the world was not worthy: His perſon was doomed to long impriſonment, for no pretended cauſe but what was found againſt him in the matters of his God: And his eſtate, which was before conſiderable, was harraſſed by ſevere fines and confiſcations; which reduced it to a diminution, much more honourable indeed than any augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered even to this day. He died An. Dom. 1696, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-ſixth baron of Fowlis, who ſucceeded his father, was alſo a pious and benevolent man, and for ſome time a Captain: But it pleaſed God early to deprive him of his ſight, and to continue him in that condition during the remainder of his life. Under this calamity he calmly ſubmitted himſelf to that GOD, who can ſhed abroad a far more

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chearing light on the ſoul than theſe bodily eyes can admit. Providence was pleaſed to bleſs him with children, in whom he could not but find the higheſt ſatisfaction, and whoſe amiable characters in general leave no room to doubt of the tenderneſs and reſpect with which they would treat ſo worthy a parent, under a diſtreſſing calamity, which would naturally move compaſſion even in ſtrangers. There were four of them, who all reached maturity of age, and were the heirs of many bleſſings, though Providence ſuffered three of them to fall almoſt at once, by moſt unjuſt and barbarous hands; Sir Robert, Capt. George Munro, and the Doctor, whoſe Chriſtian name was Duncan: Their only ſiſter, married to Mr Gordon of Ardoch, ſtill ſurvives; an example of profound ſubmiſſion and fortitude, mingled with the moſt tender ſenſibility of temper.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty ſeventh baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded his father A. D. 1729. He went early from the univerſity to the camp, where he ſerved ſeven years in Flanders; being ſome time Captain in the Royal Scots, before that fatal ceſſation of arms A. D. 1712; as his late Majeſty with ſo much propriety publickly called it, to which therefore I ſhall not preſume to give either a milder or a ſeverer name. It was here that Sir Robert contracted

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that acquaintance and ſtrict friendſhip with good Colonel Gardiner, which ran through the remainder of their lives, and of which each was ſo worthy. On Sir Robert's return from Flanders, he was reduced on account of his inflexible oppoſition in parliament (of which he was then a member,) to the meaſures which the miniſtry were then taking to ſubvert the ſucceſſion in the preſent Royal Family, and with it no doubt the Proteſtant religion, of which that family was and is under GOD the firmeſt barrier.

My correſpondent obſerves, concerning Sir Robert, "That he was noted for the "countenance he gave to divine worſhip, "both in public and in his family, and for "the regard which he always expreſſed to "the word of GOD and its miniſters;" and then adds, "That he was ſincere in "his friendſhip, and full of compaſſion, "even to the meaneſt of thoſe around "him: And that he was remarkable a-"bove moſt, for his activity in the diſ-"charge of any office of friendſhip where "he had profeſſed it, and for his great "exactneſs in the performance of his pro-"miſes."

His military ſervices are particularly worthy of being mentioned here. In the year 1715, he, with his clan, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland, kept the Earl

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of Seaforth, with 3000 men under his command, from joining the Rebel camp at Perth for near two months; and thereby prevented the Earl of Marr from croſſing the Forth, till the Duke of Argyle had gathered ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe him. In conſequence of this, Sir Robert expoſed his own country to the fierceſt reſentments of the rebels, by whom it was plundered and deſtroyed; while others, who yet pretended to be friends to the government, ſaved themſelves and their lands by capitulations with the enemy. Being then made governor of Inverneſs, Sir Robert kept 400 of his name there during the reſt of that rebellion, regularly paid and regimented; and theſe, together with ſome other clans, well-affected to the intereſt of the preſent Royal Family, kept poſſeſſion of that important paſs, whereby the rebels were hindred from making a ſtand there, when they were diſlodged from Perth by the Duke of Argyle.

He was, in the year 1716, made a Commiſſioner of inquiry into the forfeited eſtates of the rebels; in which he ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in procuring a number of pariſhes to be erected through the rebel countries, and provided with ſuitable ſtipends out of the confiſcated lands; whereby the goſpel was preached in places where it had not been preached ſince the Refor-

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mation: So that some new presbyteries were formed in countries where the discipline and worship of Protestant churches had before no footing. And such was the compassion and humanity which attempered his high courage, that, by his interest with the government, he did eminent service to the unfortunate widows and children of such as had to the ruin of their families been engaged in the rebellion.

Sir Robert was thirty years a member of parliament by his family interest; during which time he always maintained the firmest attachment to the service of his Majesty and his royal father, and to the religion and liberties of his country. His fidelity and zeal for these did not need to be purchased, solicited, or quickened, by personal favours: It continued through all this period unshaken and active, tho' from the ending of his commission of inquiry in 1724, till the year 1740, he had no post under the government. He then found the nation was to be involved in a foreign war, the necessity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged; and therefore, though his friends, through his merit and experience, might have pretended to something more, as he had been in the rank of a Lieutenant Colonel twenty five years, his heart was too generous and too warm not to accept of the same commis-

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ſion, which was then given him in the high-land regiment. This regiment, when firſt formed out of independent highland companies, was under the command of the Earl of Crawford as its Colonel, who all the while he ſtood in that relation to it, was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer againſt the Turks. During this time Sir Robert Munro was his Lordſhip's Lieutenant-Colonel. Before it went to Flanders, Lord Semple was its Colonel; but he alſo being generally abſent, and Sir Robert an old experienced officer, the regiment during the war was left under his care; and the manner in which he modelled and conducted it will remain in many reſpects an immortal honour to his name.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a regiment, compoſed of highlanders, who are generally uſed to ſo rapacious a life at home, ſhould yet by diſcipline have been brought to ſo good a behaviour, as that they ſhould be judged the moſt truſty guards of property; and that, when the people in Flanders were allowed a protection for their goods, they ſhould chuſe to have ſome of this regiment, among others of the Britiſh ſoldiers, appointed to protect them. This may, indeed, ſeem hardly credible: * Yet my in-

* A very worthy perſon, to whoſe inſpection this Appendix has been committed ſince it was finiſhed

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former assures me, that he had it from an officer of their own of unquestionable credit; who added farther, that it was but seldom he had observed a man among them drunk, and as seldom heard any of them swear. This is very agreeable to the high character which I heard of this regiment, from an English gentleman then in Flanders, whose veracity is undoubted, and who cannot, I am sure, be suspected of any prejudice here. And among Sir Robert's papers, there is still existing a copy of a letleter from the Elector Palatine to his Envoy at London, desiring him to thank the king of Great Britain, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the highland regiment, while they were in his territories, "which," as he says expressly, "was owing to the "care of Sir Robert Munro, their Lieu-"tenant Colonel, for whose sake (he "adds) he should always pay a regard to "a Scotsman for the future."

observes here, that though the highlanders are much addicted to depredations on their neighb. urs, yet the very actors even in them are generally as faithful to their trust as any set of people whatever; and that if his officer shews but any degree of civility and kindness to one of these people, the fear of disobliging him has a greater influence than that of stripes generally has on others of the common people. This remark I thought proper to insert here, that the representation of this affair might be as impartial as possible.

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I the rather mention these particulars, not only as they do an honour to Sir Robert, and his worthy brother, thro' whose interest, and that of the other officers, with the private men, this great reformation was effectual; but likewise as they seem to shew, in a very convincing manner, of how great importance it is that some methods be seriously thought of for breaking the other uncultivated inhabitants of these countries into useful men, by bringing them at once under the protection and discipline of the laws, and inforcing their obedience to them, by teaching them the principles of religion, and the arts of peace and commerce. This is a happy effect, which, methinks, we may naturally hope for from the late Rebellion, pernicious as it has in many respects been, considering how much it has reduced them to the power of the government, and how justly obnoxious it has made the chiefs of many fierce and barbarous clans.

According to my best information, from persons who are most throughly acquainted with affairs in the North, the two great springs of Rebellion amongst the inhabitants of these highland countries, are, their idleness and their ignorance.—The former subjects them to a slavish dependence on their masters, and is also the cause of their being so addicted to stealing:

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And the latter makes them a prey to Popiſh prieſts and miſſionaries from Rome, who are conſtantly and in great numbers, trafficking among them. It has been very juſtly remarked, that the ſucceſs they have in ſeducing theſe poor ignorant people is occaſioned in a great meaſure by the vaſt extent of pariſhes in thoſe highland countries; ſome of them being betwixt thirty and forty miles in length, and twenty and thirty in breadth, full of great mountains, rapid rivers, and arms of the ſea; and thoſe pariſhes which are more moderate in their extent, are about twenty miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth: And it is every where to be obſerved through theſe pariſhes, that around the place of the miniſter's reſidence, the inhabitants are almoſt all Proteſtants; but in the corners which are remote from his reſidence, they are generally all Papiſts.

Now it is evident that theſe poor people can only be cured of idleneſs, by teaching them manufactures, to which they are wholly ſtrangers: And it is hard to imagine how they can be reſcued from Popiſh ignorance, until there are ſeveral new pariſhes erected in thoſe extenſive countries. It would ill become me to pretend to direct the government of Britain on ſuch an occaſion; but I know it to be the opinion of many perſons in thoſe parts of,

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diſtinguiſhed wiſdom and experience, that if it ſhould be thought fit to employ the produce of the eſtates confiſcated by the late Rebellion for theſe valuable purpoſes, this, with the thouſand pounds of his Majeſty's royal bounty annually beſtowed, would go a good way towards remedying theſe two great evils, with their train of miſerable conſequences, which we have of late ſo deeply felt. And who would not rejoice to ſee all theſe poor people ſharing with us fully in all the privileges and advantages of Chriſtians and of Britons? I pray GOD to guide and proſper every ſcheme for this purpoſe! And in this connection I cannot but mention and recommend the ſociety for propagating the knowledge of religion, and with it the principles of loyalty, in theſe highland countries; a deſign in which ſo many worthy perſons, both in the Northern and Southern parts of our iſland, are incorporated. But their ſtock is by no means equal to the purpoſes here mentioned; and by their conſtitution they are confined to the ſupport of ſchools, which are indeed going on with great ſucceſs, as far as the revenue will allow them.

But to return from this natural, and therefore, I hope, very pardonable digreſſion; the behaviour of Sir Robert Munro,

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and this regiment at the battle of Fontenoy, was heard through all Britain. He had obtained leave of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the French at the village from which the battle derives its name; which they did, and drove the enemy from it: But finding the body of the French forces deeply intrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. Sir Robert, according to the uſage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire; and inſtantly, as ſoon as it was diſcharged, they ſprung up, and coming cloſe to the enemy, poured in their ſhot upon them, to the certain deſtruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately thro' their own lines: Then retreating, they drew up again, and attacked them a ſecond time after the ſame manner. Theſe attacks they repeated ſeveral times that day, to the ſurpriſe of the whole army.

Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithſtanding his great corpulency; and when in the trenches, he was hauled out again by the legs and arms by his own men. And it is obſervable, that when he commanded the whole regiment

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to clap to the ground, he himſelf alone, with the colours behind him, ſtood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this becauſe, (as he ſaid) though he could eaſily lie down, his great bulk would not ſuffer him to riſe ſo quickly.

His preſervation that day was the ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action: And my information relates, that a moſt eminent perſon in the army was heard to ſay upon the occaſion, "That it was enough to convince "one of the truth of the doctrine of pre-"deſtination, and to juſtify what King "William of glorious memory uſed to "ſay, That every bullet has its billet, or "its particular direction and commiſſion "where it ſhould lodge." It is added, that on the retreat of our army, the highland regiment was in the rear; and a great body of the French horſe being ordered to purſue, Sir Robert made his regiment face about, and gave them a general fire, ſo full and effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the reſt wheeled about and rode off.

But to cloſe what relates to Sir Robert Munro: As an acknowledgment for his brave ſervices at Fontenoy, as well as on former occaſions, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint him to ſucceed General Ponſon-

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by, who was ſlain there in the command of his regiment; which was among the troops that arrived at Newcaſtle during the Rebellion, and made a part of General Wade's army. They were afterwards ordered to Scotland; and being upon the left wing at the battle of Falkirk, on that fatal day, the 17th of January 1745-6, they ſhamefully left their brave Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, with five or ſix more of their officers, to be cut in pieces.

By the accounts which the Rebels themſelves give of Sir Robert, he defended himſelf againſt ſix of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number; upon which a ſeventh came up, and (as they expreſſed it) poured a ſhot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. In this dreadful moment, in the midſt of all this extremity, his brother Doctor Munro, whom the warmeſt inſtances of his friends could not divert from expoſing his perſon in defence of his country, and who was near at hand, ran to him to ſupport him, attended by his ſervant and the ſurgeon of the regiment; but they were all murdered on the ſpot in the moſt barbarous manner by thoſe cruel men.

Sir Robert's body was the next day ſought out; and his face was ſo cut and mangled by theſe ſavages, after he fell,

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that it could ſcarce be known. He was found and buried honourably in the church-yard of Falkirk by the Macdonalds, who, though engaged in rebellion againſt their lawful Sovereign, could not but pay ſome public regard to the memory of ſo valiant a man; the principal perſons among the Rebels attending him all the way to the grave.

And thus fell thoſe two brave brothers; for the Doctor undoubtedly deſerves that title with Sir Robert, who, though profeſſing the peaceful art of medicine, adventured himſelf amidſt the moſt viſible danger, fired with love to his illuſtrious brother, and attempting in vain to bring him ſome aid in his laſt extremities, amidſt armed enemies, expired with him, no leſs lamented than he by all that intimately knew him. How juſt that lamentation was, will appear from the accounts which I have had of the Doctor's character from his moſt intimate friends, which I here ſubjoin.

He was a gentleman of an excellent underſtanding, and had a brightneſs and ſolidity in his genius which are not often united; but which, when they concur, do greatly illuſtrate each other. He had been bred up to the ſtudy of medicine and ſurgery, which in Scotland are frequently joined, as they have ſo great an affinity. "He

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" had a large ſtock of knowledge, not on-
" ly in his own profeſſion, but in moſt parts
" of polite literature. But theſe (adds
" my correſpondent) I hold cheap, when
" compared to the goodneſs of his heart.
" His greateſt ſtudy was to know himſelf;
" and I verily believe, that ſince the early
" ages of Chriſtianity there has not ap-
" peared a more upright perſon."

He ſpent a great many years in the Eaſt-Indies, and had moſt accurately and diligently inquired into the manners, cuſtoms, arts, and manufactures of the natives, and into the produce and commodities of the country; ſo that he was much more capable of giving entertainment to perſons of curioſity in ſuch things than travellers commonly are; and his veracity was ſuch, that all who knew him could entirely depend upon whatever he reported as on his own knowledge. To all theſe advantages was added a memory remarkably tenacious of every circumſtance with which he charged it: But perhaps it was a loſs to the world that it was ſo, as it hindered him from committing many extraordinary things to writing, which might have afforded improvement, as well as delight, to the public.

The want of ſuch memoirs from ſo able an hand is the more to be regretted, as his remarkable modeſty did not permit him to

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talk much in company. One might ſpend a good deal of time with him, without perceiving, by any hints from him, that he had ever been out of Britain: But when his friends ſeemed deſirous of information on any of theſe topics, as they fell in his way, he communicated his obſervations upon them with the utmoſt freedom, and gave them the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable; of which ſome remarkable inſtances happened at the houſes of perſons of very conſiderable rank, who paid him that reſpect which he ſo well deſerved.

It was the more to be deſired, that he ſhould have left behind him ſome written memoirs of his own remarks and adventures as he was a moſt attentive obſerver of divine providence, and had experienced many ſingular inſtances of it. One is ſo remarkable, that it claims a place here, brief as theſe hints muſt neceſſarily be.——After he had continued eight or ten years in the Eaſt Indies, he was ſhipwreck'd on the Malabarian coaſt, as he was on his paſſage home: He ſaved his life on a plank, but loſt all his effects, except a ſmall parcel of diamonds. This ruinous calamity as it ſeemed to be, obliged him to return to Fort St George, where he experienced, far beyond what he could have expected, the extraordinary friendſhip of ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen of that ſettlement, and felt the ſolid effects of

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it, as by their assistance he acquired much more in six or seven years following, (for his whole stay in that country was about sixteen years) than he lost by shipwreck: And when he left the settlement, he had all sort of encouragement offered him to induce him to stay; but his health and other circumstances obliged him to return home.

This return (which happened, if I mistake not, about the year 1726) was a happy providence to many: For as he was remarkably successful in both the branches of the peculiar profession, he took great pains in both: And as he did this without fee or reward, when he was satisfied the circumstances of the afflicted needed such assistance, he was an instrument of saving many limbs, and many lives, which must otherwise in all probability have been lost.

To this account I must beg leave to add what another of my correspondents writes to me concerning the Doctor in the following words: "As we are often by "ourselves, I still found him inclined to "turn our discourse to spiritual subjects "concerning GOD and religion, the offices "of the great Redeemer, and the power "of GOD's Spirit in converting and sanctifying the souls of men, and the hope of "eternal life through CHRIST." I transcribe the passage thus particularly concern-

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ing this pious Phyſician, as I eſteem it, in one view, a peculiar honour to him; and permit me to ſay, in another, to the profeſſion itſelf: Bleſſed be GOD, that tho' it is ſo rare a caſe, yet there are thoſe of that learned body, who are not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt; but who knowing it to be true on inconteſtible evidence, and having felt (what one would imagine every rational creature who believes it to be true, muſt immediately ſee) its infinite importance, have ſteadily determined to ſubmit to its influence, and to maintain its honours in the midſt of all the ſcorn and deriſion of their infidel brethren; a determination, which perhaps requires no leſs courage, eſpecially in ſome tempers, than that generous inſtance of fraternal love which will entail ſuch laſting glory on the memory of Doctor Munro.

There yet remained one valiant Brother of this family, whom Providence reſerved for a few months, before he ſhared the fate of the other two. The perſon I mean was Captain George Munro of Culcairn, Eſq; of whom I have conceived ſuch an idea from the account of him which has been put into my hands, that I cannot forbear wiſhing the world were bleſſed with a much larger narrative of his life and character than my inſtructions will furniſh out, or than I ſhould have room to inſert in ſuch

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an *appendix* as this. Much do I regret, that Providence never favoured me with an opportunity of being perſonally acquainted with him, eſpecially as I have reaſon to believe, from what my friends in the North write, that he had the like diſpoſition towards forming a friendſhip with me, as produced ſo quick a growth of it in the breaſt of Colonel Gardiner; whom, on the whole, Captain Munro ſeems to have reſembled almoſt in every part of his character, taking it as it was ſince that happy change, which I have ſo largely deſcribed in the foregoing memoirs: But what was wanting in my perſonal knowledge, is ſupplied by a large and animated account from my correſpondents, who had the beſt opportunity of knowing him, and upon whoſe information I can ſafely depend.

Captain George Munro was the ſecond brother of the family, the Doctor being the youngeſt ſon. He, like the other Gentlemen, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and ſoon diſcovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. Beſides the other branches of literature, common to all the profeſſions, he acquired a ſtock of theological knowledge; and, before he was ſeventeen years old, he was well acquainted

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with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, ſo as to be able to give a good account of the advance and decline of the Chriſtian intereſt in various ages and countries, and the degrees and manner by which the corruption and reformation of the church had been introduced, eſtabliſhed, or obſtructed. I the rather mention this, as it ſeems to be an accompliſhment of great importance; on which account, I much wonder, that the generality of young gentlemen ſhould think it ſo little worth attending to: And I wiſh I could ſay, that all who are intended for the miniſtry were ſo careful in purſuing it, as its uſefulneſs and its abſolute neceſſity to them might demand.

But his taſte and talents particularly lay for a military life; and in the year 1715 he behaved himſelf with great courage and activity during the whole courſe of that rebellion; and after the diſperſion of the Rebels, he was employed in reducing the inhabitants of thoſe highland countries and the adjacent iſles, to a ſubmiſſion to the government.

In the year 1719, when, on occaſion of the invaſion from Spain, General Wightman, with the troops under his command, had waited long at Inverneſs for a body of highlandmen to conduct the troops thro' the mountains to Glenſhiel, where the Spaniards and Rebels were encamped; and

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when many promiſes of ſuch aſſiſtance made to the General had failed, Sir Robert Munro being then out of the country, his brother the Captain (of whom we now ſpeak) aſſembled, in a moſt expeditious manner, a body of the Munro clan, and marched with the regular troops to Glenſhiel, where they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the gallantry of their behaviour, in driving the enemy before them in a ſharp action, in which many of them were killed, and more wounded; and among the reſt the Captain himſelf in a very dangerous manner. He had, however, the ſatisfaction to ſee their foreign invaders, and their Rebel abettors, totally routed and diſperſed on the Pretender's birth day, June 10th; And though his conſtitution ſuffered much by the loſs of his blood on this occaſion, yet it pleaſed GOD to recover him for further ſervice to his country.

As he ſtill continued vigorous and active in the ſervice of the government, he obtained the command of one of the independent companies then in the national pay; And when they were afterwards regimented and ſent to Flanders, he attended them thither, and continued in the public ſervice till the year 1744, when he became ſo exceedingly aſthmatic that he could not breathe in the Flanders air: On which General Wade not only allowed him to ſell his

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commiſſion, but, out of compaſſion to his diſtreſs, joined his brother Sir Robert in obliging him to do it, and to return home: To which he at length ſubmitted, though not without regret; and thereupon returned to his domeſtic ſeat at Newton in Roſsſhire, in the views of ſpending his days with his family and friends in a peaceful retreat. But Providence determined otherwiſe, and had reſerved for him ſome farther labours of a military life, in which it had appointed him gloriouſly to toil and fall, after ſervices which might have done an honour to his moſt vigorous and active days.

The late wicked and unnatural rebellion broke out ſoon after his arrival; and the danger of his country and its religious and civil conſtitution gave him at once a new ſtock of life and ſpirit.

When General Cope came to Inverneſs, and had been aſſured of being joined by a number of highlanders to conduct him and his ſmall army through the Rebel countries between that town and Aberdeen, Captain Munro, with 200 of his brother's clan, were indeed the only perſons that were found willing to perform the promiſes that were made by ſeveral others. He marched with the General directly to Aberdeen, from whence he was ordered to return home; in which return he was under a ne-

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ceſſity of marching through a great number of the Rebels under the command of Gordon of Glenbucket, who lay on the road to attack the Captain and his party; but Glenbucket finding that the Captain was determined to diſpute every inch of ground with him, retired, and allowed him to proceed without diſturbance to Inverneſs.

Not long after that, the Earl of Loudon ſent Captain Munro, in conjunction with the Laird of Macleod, with a body of men, to relieve the city of Aberdeen, and the neighbouring country, then greatly oppreſſed by the outrages committed upon them by Lord Lewis Gordon, and the Rebels under his command. Accordingly the Captain and Macleod proceeded as far as Inverary, (a ſmall town a few miles weſt of Aberdeen,) where they halted to receive intelligence; and from the narrowneſs of the place, they were obliged to quarter a great number of their men in diſtant places through the adjacent country. In the mean time, a conſiderable reinforcement from the main body of the rebel army, which then lay at Perth, was ſent under the command of a French officer, ſupported by their picquets and Iriſh brigades: By the aſſiſtance of which, Lord Lewis attempted to ſurpriſe, and cut off the Captain and his whole party. In this view they were moving towards Inverary,

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in the dusk of the evening, after Captain Munro and Macleod had sent their men through the country to their quarters: But tho' there was not such good intelligence provided as might have been wished, they were providentially discovered at such a distance, that Captain Munro and the Laird of Macleod had time to draw up the men they had in the town of Inverary, in so regular a manner, that in consequence of it they gave the enemy such a warm reception, attacking them at once in front and flank, that many of them were left dead in the field. The brave Captain and his associate continued very sedate, intrepid, and active, during the heat of the skirmish, till at last being overpowered by far superior numbers, they thought it adviseable to retire, and brought off their party safe and in good order, excepting some few who had been killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Mr Adam Gordon of Ardoch, nephew to Captain Munro, who was seized by the Rebels, and treated with a deal of vigour and severity for a considerable time while detained in their power. But they did not presume to pursue the rest; and the young gentleman at length made his escape, to the great joy of the family; being, I hope, reserved by Providence to tread in the steps of his heroic

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uncles, and to bleſs his country with ſome conſiderable future ſervices.

Upon the retreat of the Rebels northward before his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of Cumberland, the Earl of Loudon had not ſufficient ſtrength to maintain his poſſeſſion of Inverneſs againſt them: Whereupon he, with the Lord Preſident, and Captain Munro, retreated to the ſhire of Sutherland, propoſing to defend themſelves there, until the ſeaſon allowed his Royal Highneſs to march the troops to Inverneſs. But in this interval, the Rebels having ſpread themſelves through the ſhires of Inverneſs, Murray, and Roſs, they got poſſeſſion of a great many boats; by the help of which they tranſported a great part of their body to the Sutherland coaſt, under the covert of a very thick fog. Upon which, the Earl of Loudon, with the Lord Preſident and the Captain were obliged to retreat through the weſtern parts of Roſs, into the Iſle of Sky, where they continued until the Rebel army was broke and diſperſed at the battle of Culloden.

I have been the more particular in this narrative of the Captain's conduct during the rebellion, as it gives ſome light into the ſituation and tranſactions of the friends of our conſtitution in thoſe parts at that time: And my information aſſures me, that the facts are taken from perſons of undoubt-

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ed veracity, who were present with the Captain in his march to Aberdeen with General Cope, and in his return from it, and who were with him in the skirmish at Inverary, and were afterwards witnesses of his death.

Upon his return from the Isle of Sky, he was constantly employed in expeditions through the rebel countries, of great extent, to reduce them to a submission to the government; which he performed with diligence and zeal, but still with the greatest humanity. This the Rebels themselves must acknowledge, as he never did the least injury to any man; and in all that vast circuit which he made through these distant countries, he neither himself seized, nor allowed those under his command to seize any thing but arms; and yet notwithstanding all this humanity, his diligence and zeal had been such in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage and revenge of the Rebels, who had vowed his destruction upon the first opportunity; and because they had not courage to face him, they had recourse to the base method of assassination, which was effected on the Lord's day the 31st of Aug. 1746. He was then on a long and necessary march at the head of 500 men, on the side of Locharkey, amongst the wild rocks of Lochaber, where, as he was pas-

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ſing by the ſide of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was ſhot dead by a villain who concealed himſelf behind the trees and rocks in the wood. and who, by the advantages of that ſituation, got off without being diſcovered and has never ſince been found out: An event to the Captain, no doubt, moſt happy, and a bleſſed kind of inſtantaneous tranſlation to the regions of endleſs peace and triumphant joy; but to all who loved the public, not to be mentioned without the tendereſt ſenſibility, and deepeſt regret.

One of my correſpondents on this occaſion concludes his account of the deaths of Sir Robert, the Doctor, and the Captain, in theſe words: "Thus died theſe three wor-
" thy men, to the irreparable loſs of the
" country in which they lived; all of them
" remarkable for a brave ſpirit, full of love
" to their native land, and of diſintereſted
" zeal for religion and liberty; faithful in
" their promiſes, and ſtedfaſt in their friend-
" ſhip, abundant in their charity to the poor
" and diſtreſſed, and moderate in their re-
" ſentments, and eaſy to be reconciled;
" and eſpecially remarkable for their great
" and entire love to each other, ſo that
" one ſoul ſeemed as it were, to actuate
" all the three*." To which it might have

* The intimacy of their friendſhip, who chief-

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been added,—bleſſed with a ſiſter, not unworthy to make the fourth perſon in ſuch a friendſhip.

My other correſpondent, in his character of the Captain, ſpeaks in this manner: "The "great foundation of all his other virtues "was laid in a moſt ſincere and ſtedfaſt re- "gard to the ſupreme Being. He careful- "ly ſtudied the great doctrines of our ho- "ly religion, which he courageouſly pro- "feſſed, and as it was requiſite, defended, in "whatever company he might be caſt: He "did this with the greater freedom, as his "practice was always agreeable to it; and "in particular his regard, both to the book "and to the day of GOD. He had from "his infancy been trained up in an ac- "quaintance with the ſcripture; and he "daily peruſed it with pleaſure, and "doubtleſs with advantage. And though "the natural chearfulneſs of his temper "inclined him on other days to facetious "turns in converſation, yet on the ſab- "bath he was not only grave and devout, "but carefully attentive, that all his ſpeech

ly founded on a ſimilarity of character, might perhaps be further promoted by their being ſo nearly of the ſame age; for Sir Robert was born Auguſt 24. 1684, the Captain September 18. 1685, and the Doctor September 19. 1687; Sir Robert therefore was ſlain in his ſixty-ſecond year, the Captain in his ſixty firſt, and the Doctor in his fifty-ninth.

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" might tend to edification, and as far as
" poſſible miniſter grace to the hearers.
" He was exemplary in the ſocial virtues,
" temperate in the uſe of food and ſleep,
" and roſe early for devotion, (wherein,
" as in many other reſpects, he remarkably
" reſembled his beloved friend Colonel
" Gardiner.) He was alſo thoroughly ſen-
" ſible how much a faithful diſcharge of
" relative duties is eſſential to the charac-
" ter of a Chriſtian. He approved him-
" ſelf therefore, as a brave and vigilant
" officer, a moſt active and faithful ſer-
" vant of the crown, and a true patriot
" to his country in the worſt of times;
" and in domeſtic life was exemplary as a
" huſband, a father, and a maſter. He
" was a moſt affectionate brother, a faith-
" ful friend, a conſtant benefactor, and a
" ſure patron of the oppreſſed; and, to
" crown all, was at laſt in effect a martyr
" in the cauſe of that religion he had ſo
" eminently adorned, and of thoſe liber-
" ties he had ſo long and ſo bravely de-
" fended."

It muſt give a ſenſible pleaſure to every reader, who enters into theſe things with a becoming ſpirit, to reflect, That notwithſtanding theſe unparalleled and irreparable loſſes, this family, which has been long celebrated for ſo many worthy branches,

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is not yet extinct; but that both Sir Robert Munro, and the Captain, have left those behind them, who may not only bear up the name, but if they answer the hopes which in the opening of life they give to their country, may add new honours to it.

I hope the Reader will not lay down this narrative, which is now brought to a close, without deriving some useful lessons from the remarkable train of providence, which this Appendix, as well as the preceding Memoirs, offer to his observation. And the more he enters into these lessons, the more will he be disposed to lift up his wishes and prayers to God for those valuable remains, both of Sir ROBERT MUNRO's and of COLONEL GARDINER's family, which may yet be within the reach of such addresses; that GOD may graciously support them in their sorrows, and that all the virtues and graces of the illustrious dead may live in them, and in their remotest posterity. **Amen!**

THE END.

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